



Daily Report

Near East & South Asia

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Inter-Arab Affairs

Iraq Demands League Condemnation of U.S. 'Crime'

JN1709132991 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1215 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Cairo, 17 Sep (INA)—In a message to Dr. 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid, secretary general of the Arab League, Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn affirmed that the U.S. military's unsightly crime of burying hundreds of Iraqi soldiers alive during the Gulf war constitutes a flagrant and audacious violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention.

In his message, the foreign minister requested that the low and barbaric crime by those who always brag about respecting human rights and dignity be condemned.

He also requested that the U.S. Government be pressured to cooperate with the International Committee of the Red Cross by revealing the details of the crime, its location, and by handing over the remains of the Iraqi soldiers who suffered martyrdom as a result of this cowardly U.S. behavior.

Iraq's permanent representative to the Arab League handed the message to the league secretary general yesterday. [passage omitted]

Arab League Lifts Some Embargoes, Imposes Others

NC1709124291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0635 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Cairo, 17 Sep (MENA)—The Arab League decided to lift the Arab embargo against companies boycotted because of their dealings with Israel if these companies establish industries in Arab countries on their own or with Arab capital. The companies should also provide the necessary technology and technical expertise for these industries, which must be at least on par with their establishments in Israel. This offer is based on the condition that their industries in Israel be phased out.

AL-AHRAM today cites Dr. Yusuf Ni'matallah, Arab League assistant secretary general for economic affairs, as saying that in its recent meeting the league council put conditions on lifting the embargo. A company must provide a full and comprehensive study of the planned project in the Arab country concerned, it must not have inclinations toward Zionism, and its factory in Israel must not be producing items helping the Israeli war effort.

Dr. Ni'matallah added that the Arab League Council decided to lift the embargo on the American Company (Fairbanks Morris) and its subsidiaries. It also decided to impose an embargo on airlines that transport Jewish immigrants to Palestine and the occupied Arab land and to ban these airlines' planes from landing in Arab airports or from overflying or transiting Arab airspace. The

embargo will also include foreign companies and institutions which grant facilities for the Jews to immigrate and to settle in Palestine and the occupied Arab land.

The council also agreed to embargo the companies that own, run, or are agents for shipping companies whose ships carry Jewish immigrants whose ultimate destination is Palestine or the occupied Arab land, even if they are not docked at any Israeli port, he added. All ships belonging to these companies will be permanently black-listed.

In its recent meeting, the Arab League Council endorsed the work of the Israeli boycotting main and regional offices during the second half of the current year and thanked the general commissioner of boycotting Israel and his aides and stressed that he should continue his work.

Palestinian Affairs

Further on Discussions With U.S. Secretary Baker

Group To Present Document

LD1709191991 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic
1702 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] The Palestinian-Israeli Center for Research and Information issued a press release which reads: A small Israeli-Palestinian delegation today will present a document to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker under the title: A Framework for a General Peace Process Toward Peaceful Palestinian-Israeli Relations.

The statement indicated that this document could be used as a prototype for a peaceful solution that would express the view of the PNC [Palestine National Council] and ideas of a large number of individuals from the Israeli public. Also, the document tackles more fundamental issues than operational matters.

This document was prepared two months ago during a secret meeting between Israelis and Palestinians in California.

The press release stated that this document is unique, as it is signed by Israelis and Palestinians and enjoyed the approval of the PLO. The statement added that this document is suitable to be considered as a foundation for a peace treaty between the two sides.

Report on Baker-Palestinian Session

LD1709190791 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic
1702 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Regarding the visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to occupied Palestine, let us hear this report:

U.S. Secretary of State Baker and a Palestinian delegation resumed yesterday evening the drafting of a joint formula on the principles of the peace conference on the Middle East.

Baker left the U.S. Consulate in western Jerusalem following three and a half hours of talks with three Palestinian personalities: Faysal Al-Husayni, Hanan 'Ashrawi and Zakariya Al-Agha.

Baker left a number of aides in talks with the Palestinian personalities. On his return to the hotel, he stated that the aides are working alongside the Palestinians on the preparation of a letter of guarantees and that we will continue working in this connection.

He described the talks as excellent, and stated that most likely they will continue today, Tuesday.

For his part, Faysal Al-Husayni indicated that we have started drafting a letter of guarantees with the United States. We will continue this work today with Baker's aides. The talks were extremely serious, and following its drafting we will submit the letter to the leadership bodies inside the PLO.

Hanan 'Ashrawi stressed that some progress has been achieved, although a number of issues related to the Jerusalem situation and the formation of the Palestinian delegation still need a solution. The basic issues related to the Palestinians will be highlighted in the document. I understand that Baker is also tabling a letter of guarantees for the Israelis, he said. [passage omitted]

Al-Husayni Views U.S. Assurances

JN1709123591 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic
1200 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Basim Abu-Sumayyah dispatch from the occupied territory]

[Excerpt] Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Palestinian team which met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, announced that the Palestinians received a U.S. document considering the West Bank and Gaza Strip to be occupied territory and stipulating U.S. agreement to put the Jerusalem issue on the proposed peace conference agenda and recognizing the Palestinians right to name the Palestinian delegation to the negotiations.

Al-Husayni, who left for London after a prolonged meeting held by the Palestinian team in his east Jerusalem residence with a number of Baker's aides, said that the contents of the document of assurances will be conveyed to the PLO in order to take the appropriate stand concerning the Palestinian participation in the peace conference. [passage omitted]

Further on U.S. Assurances

JN1709185791 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic
1715 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Basim Abu-Sumayyah dispatch from the occupied territories]

[Text] Palestinian sources affirmed that the Palestinian team that held two rounds of talks with the U.S. secretary of state yesterday and with his aides today on arrangements for convening the peace conference received a document. The document was from the U.S. secretary of state affirming U.S. support for the Palestinian right to self-determination and its agreement to list the issue of Jerusalem on the agenda of the proposed peace conference, as well as the Palestinian right to name the Palestinian delegation to the negotiations. However, the United States prefers that the formation of the delegation be coordinated with Jordan to facilitate the establishment of self-government [al-hukumah al-dhadiyah].

Following a lengthy meeting the Palestinian team held in Faysal al-Husayni's house with three of the U.S. secretary's aides, including Edward Djerejian, a U.S. State Department Middle East affairs expert, and U.S. Consul in Jerusalem Molly Williamson, Faysal al-Husayni said that the U.S. document contains a U.S. acknowledgement that the peace process be based on UN Security Council Resolution 242 that states Israel should withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in view of the fact that they are occupied territories.

Before leaving for the British capital, al-Husayni said that the contents of the U.S. document will be communicated to the PLO so that it may, in turn, decide on the stand of adopting Palestinian participation in the peace conference.

Palestinian and Western sources note that the Palestinian team demonstrated flexibility on the issue of the formation of the Palestinian delegation and the postponement of the discussion of the issue of Jerusalem to a later stage, believing the United States to be serious in its efforts to convene the peace conference and settle the Palestinian issue.

The U.S. document discussed by the two sides today states that the transitional stage of the solution shall not exceed three years. It sets as a condition the Palestinian delegation's acceptance of the principle of direct talks with Israel. It also says that the phased agreement should be reached within one year of the negotiations, which will include the issues of land, water, and the definitive status of the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, at the end of the three-year transitional period.

Official Dialogue With U.S. Reportedly To Resume

JN1709164891 Jerusalem AL-MANAR in Arabic
9 Sep 91 p 16

[Text] AL-MANAR has learned that an important Palestinian-Egyptian meeting was held Tuesday, 3 September, in the Tunisian capital. During this high-level meeting, the peace process in all its aspects was discussed. The outcome of the meeting will appear in the next few days.

According to a ranking Palestinian official, the PLO received a message from the U.S. Administration through a third party. The message deals with current efforts to convene a peace conference. Also according to the source, official resumption of the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue is now definite.

PLO's 'Arafat Interviewed on Peace Conference

OW1709145791 Tokyo NHK General Television
Network in Japanese 1241 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Interview with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by NHK commentator Kentaro Hirayama at PLO headquarters in Tunis, Tunisia; date not given—recorded in English with superimposed Japanese translation in subtitles; transcribed from the English version]

[Text] [Hirayama] The central question seems to be focused on the Palestinian representation in the conference. The Israelis say that no PLO, and your side is insisting that the PLO should nominate the delegates.

['Arafat] It seems that they don't want to make peace with the Palestinians. That want... [changes thought] They are thinking that peace can be implemented with Qatar or with Bahrain. No peace, no settlement can be achieved through bypassing the Palestinians and their rights. And we are not asking for the moon, we are asking for international legal norms to be implemented.

[Hirayama] Yes. We understand...

['Arafat, interrupting] And give me one example of world history that one party has the right to know... [corrects himself] to name, the other delegations. Give me one example.

[Hirayama] Do you estimate that the Bush administration, Bush-Baker combination, that they are serious in implementing the United Nations resolutions (on) the Mideast peace?

['Arafat] This is the real challenge they face. Is there one standard for international legal norms, or double standards? Is there one standard for the Gulf and Palestine? Or is one standard in Palestine different from that in the Gulf? This is a real challenge which is facing President Bush and Mr. Baker and the U.S. Administration.

[Hirayama] Speaking about the intifadah, are you going to continue it even the conference, the international conference, is held? [sentence as heard]

['Arafat] Definitely. We are refusing the Israeli conditions to stop our intifadah. They have to, the end of the Israeli occupation, only will stop our intifadah. [sentence as heard] Because the resultant [as heard] of this intifadah will continue wave after wave until the end of the Israeli occupation.

[Hirayama] Even during the conference?

['Arafat] Why not? Are they going to end their occupation during the conference?

'Abbas on Palestinian Demands, Peace Conference

NC1709114291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1102 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Cairo, 17 Sep (MENA)—Mahmud 'Abbas, alias Abu-Mazin, a member of the PLO Executive Committee, said that he and Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa met today and discussed fundamental points regarding Palestinian demands, such as the right to self-determination and the end of Israeli occupation of Palestinian territory.

'Abbas said that the PLO is asking the United States to provide written assurances on the Palestinian points; namely, ending the occupation and halting the building of settlements in all occupied territories, including Jerusalem. 'Abbas noted that this matter was discussed during U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's meeting with a Palestinian delegation in Jerusalem.

'Abbas said that the formation of the Palestinian delegation to the peace conference will be discussed at the Palestine National Council's meeting scheduled for the last week of this month.

A venue has not yet been determined for the peace conference, 'Abbas said, which reports indicate will convene in the second half of October.

The PLO official noted that it is in Israel's interest to stall the peace process and that Israel will do its utmost to stop the process at a certain stage before or during its convocation.

'Abbas disclosed that Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat will meet with the Soviet deputy foreign minister who is expected to arrive in Tunis tomorrow, Wednesday, to coordinate the Soviet and PLO stands in the coming stage.

Territory Palestinians Polled on Peace Conference

JN1609144091 Jerusalem AL-SHA'B in Arabic
12 Sep 91 p 11

[Text] A Palestinian public opinion poll was conducted by the "Al-Bayadir al-Siyani" press foundation in Jerusalem during the first week of September. The sample covered 1,734 people chosen at random from all cities, villages, and camps in the West Bank and Gaza strip. The poll included all ages and various sectors of society and was supervised by Dr. Salim al-Zughbi, computer

lecturer at Bethlehem University, who processed the poll results. The poll indicated that a simple majority of Palestinians in the occupied territories want the Palestine National Council to approve participation in the proposed peace conference (48.6 percent) while 46.7 percent of those polled oppose participation and 4.7 percent said they have no opinion.

It is noteworthy that support for participation in the conference has been particularly high in Hebron, 59.7 percent; Bethlehem, 56.7 percent; and the Gaza Strip, 54.8 percent; while opposition was in Ramallah, 60.8 percent; Jerusalem, 54 percent; and Nabulus, 51.7 percent.

The computer-processed results supervised by Dr. al-Zughbi indicate that support for participation in the peace conference is highest among craftsmen and farmers, while it was opposed by clergymen, 64 percent, followed by students, 54.8 percent.

It is also noteworthy that there was no difference in the rates of those for or against according to sex, or between those living in cities, villages, or camps and that the majority of those for are above the age of 30 while most of those against are under 30.

As for the continuation of meetings between Palestinian personalities and U.S. Secretary of State Baker, 61.4 percent opposed it and 34 percent said a continuation of meetings is necessary.

Opposition to the meetings is mainly in Jerusalem area, 74.6 percent; Ramallah, 67.4 percent; and Nabulus, 64 percent; while the meetings were supported in Hebron 47.1 percent, and Gaza Strip 40 percent.

Opposition to the meetings is linked to how serious the Palestinians in the occupied territories view the U.S. stand, as an overwhelming majority of 93.1 percent, does not believe that the U.S. Administration is serious in its peace efforts.

On the question of the formation of a Palestinian government-in-exile, 30.4 percent of those polled opposed this idea at present, while 30.8 percent supported it, and 5.6 percent were undecided. Opposition to the formation of such a government was concentrated in the Bethlehem area, 70.2 percent; followed by Jerusalem, 68.3 percent; and Tulkarm and Janin, 66.2 percent.

As for holding free elections, 63.7 percent of those polled said they support such elections, while 30.7 percent oppose them. Support was nearly equal in the various areas.

Sha'th on 'Real' U.S.-Israeli Crisis, Conference

JN1809114291 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0620 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Manama, 18 Sep (WAKH)—Dr. Nabil Sha'th, adviser on international affairs to the Palestinian president, said that the current crisis between the United States and Israel over the loan guarantees is real, not fake.

In a statement to the Bahraini newspaper AL-AYYAM published today, Dr. Sha'th said that Israel will be surprised to know that the so-called Zionist lobby and its advocates in Washington are only waiting to see how serious the U.S. Administration is about its attempt to force Israel to comply with its wishes. If the Israelis feel that the U.S. Administration is serious and that it sees its interests lie in deterring Israel, then they will find themselves in a very tight spot.

Dr. Sha'th said that Israel will withdraw from this battle and will try to put forward alternatives and compromises. The confrontation will not last long. Dr. Sha'th maintained, because if it continues, it will create a real problem for Israel and the Jews in America.

On Palestinian representation at the peace conference, Dr. Sha'th said: For considerations related to recognition of the Palestinian people's rights, we might insist on receiving an independent invitation—even if we accept the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation—and that there be an independent Palestinian seat and a Palestinian flag under the umbrella of the joint delegation.

He added: The clearer guarantees we get in terms of substance, the more flexible we will be in terms of form and procedural matters. He noted that the reason for insistence on form is because Israel tries to use form to affect the substance.

Dr. Sha'th said that there is now a unified Arab stance after the Arab League ministerial meeting adopted the Palestinian stance. There is now also a unified stance toward Jerusalem and settlement activity. The foreign ministers of Islamic and nonaligned countries also adopted the same stance. Our stance today is much stronger than it was a few months ago, Dr. Sha'th concluded.

PLO Plans To Keep 'Arafat as President

LD1709120591 London KUNA in Arabic 1110 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Sep (KUNA)—The SAWT AL-KUWAYT daily attributed to leading Palestinian sources in Damascus as having said that the leadership of the PLO formulated plans to intercept any criticism that might be raised against Yasir 'Arafat, or any call for his dismissal, during the Palestinian National Council (PNC) session planned for 23 September in Algeria. The sources said: According to these plans, 'Arafat and members of the Executive Committee will submit their

resignations to the Council, only to be rejected immediately by a pro-'Arafat group, under the pretext of "resisting American pressures." The sources contend that in this case 'Arafat could claim that the council has rejected him as president.

On the other hand, the current speaker of the PNC, Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sayih, told the paper that he will not renominate himself for health reasons.

According to the paper, the Palestinian leaderships feel that one of the obstacles facing the PNC would be the representation of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, for while the FATAH movement group stands by Yasir 'Abd-Rabbu, who is close to 'Arafat, others prefer to keep Nayif Hawatmah, or represent both wings.

Israel Bans PNC Members From Algiers Meeting

JN1809115791 Amman Radio Jordan in English
1100 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] In Amman, speaker of the Palestine National Council, PNC, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sa'ih said today that Israel had rejected a UN request to allow members of PNC from the occupied Arab territories to attend a crucial meeting in Algiers next week. The PLO last week asked UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to help members of the PNC from the occupied territories including East Jerusalem attend a conference of the Palestine parliament-in-exile on 23 September.

The PNC conference is to decide whether to back a Middle East peace conference proposed by the United States and the Soviet Union next month.

Al-Fahum: No Preconditions for Talks With PLO

PM1709143491 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT
in Arabic 13 Sep 91 p 4

[Zaki Shihab report: "Al-Fahum Says: We Set No Conditions for Initiating Dialogue With PLO Leadership"]

[Text] London, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Khalid al-Fahum, ormer speaker of the Palestine National Council [PNC] and leader of the [Palestine National] Salvation Front, which comprises Damascus-based Palestinian groups, emphasized that he had no knowledge of conditions set for initiating a dialogue between the Salvation Front and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

Al-Fahum told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the Salvation Front, with his approval, sent a message to Yasir 'Arafat through the Popular Front [for the Liberation of Palestine] and the Democratic Front [for the Liberation

of Palestine]. The message emphasized the Front's willingness to hold a dialogue in the Libyan capital. Al-Fahum added that the name of the "Revolutionary Council" was not mentioned at all in the message.

Al-Fahum described as groundless reports that the talks collapsed because of the Salvation Front's demand that Fatah, the Revolutionary Council, be invited to them. He emphasized that the Salvation Front was willing to initiate the dialogue in Tripoli once it received 'Arafat's agreement.

A senior Palestinian official close to 'Arafat attributed the delay in holding the Libya meeting to various reasons including obtaining the Libyan authorities' approval to hold such a dialogue on their territory.

He pointed out that the Salvation Front set no conditions for initiating a dialogue with 'Arafat.

The official said that he preferred to use the phrase "strengthening of national unity" rather than the word "dialogue," because all the Palestinian groups unanimously agree on the importance of the right to self-determination for the Palestinians, in addition to the well-known political principles.

REUTER quoted PLO sources as saying that "attempts to reconcile rival Palestinian groups collapsed after one group demanded that a Palestinian group be invited to the meeting."

Al-Fahum said that these statements could have been fabricated by some elements which do not see the PLO as embracing all the influential Palestinian groups.

In answer to another question, al-Fahum said that contacts between the PLO leadership and the Salvation Front were being conducted by Fax through the Popular and Democrat Fronts' offices in Damascus or by direct contacts.

Al-Fahum said that "one message carried Yasir 'Arafat's signature. It included his agreement to the Sanaa meeting which was scheduled to be held early this month but was canceled for various reasons."

By holding the present meetings the Palestinian leaderships aim to prepare for convening the next PNC session and reaching a final decision on participation in the peace process and on attending the regional conference, which the United States and the Soviet Union want to see convened in October. No final Palestinian position is expected to be adopted before obtaining a U.S. reply containing what Palestinian circles termed "the written literature," namely, printed versions of the statements made by the U.S. Administration which emphasize the Palestinians' rights, and especially those of President George Bush, such as "the political rights of the Palestinians," "Jerusalem is part of the occupied territories," and "the settlements are illegal."

Algeria

Prime Minister Views Economic, Political Issues

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[Interview with Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali by unidentified television correspondent and ALGERIE-ACTUALITE journalist Fatiha Akeb, in the "Dialogue" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Ghazali] Democracy is a long term process. It first requires faith in the correctness of this political system. It requires self-confidence and adherence to the chosen course. In other words we should not alter our course from one day to the next. It requires patience and realism.

So, I believe that the steps we have taken since 1988 had some positive and negative aspects. When talking about the negative aspects we should not forget the positive aspects. What keeps me hopeful—and this is my conviction—is that we still have a chance in this society to achieve the rule of law through democracy. We have the means to do it and the will also exists: the will at the level of the people and political groups, speaking generally.

[Correspondent] But will the citizen continue to pay a high price for this democracy from an economic point of view? As regards price subsidies, when the citizen goes to the market, tomorrow, in 15 days, one month or six months, can we say today that he will go home with a full basket but also with full pockets? In other words, can we say that he will have some money left after shopping?

[Ghazali] I disagree with your suggestion that all this hardship is the price of democracy. Not at all. The thing that caused the general economic crisis and the problems facing the Algerian citizen... [changes thought] he has not been facing them only since 1988 or since the Constitution of 1989, he was facing them before. On the contrary, I say that these problems are not the result of democracy; they are the result of a lack of democracy. These problems stem from policies; they do not stem from the democratic system. They stem from unsound policies. They were unsound. When you talk about prices for example, what is the cause of the price increases in the market? Insufficient production. Why is production insufficient? Because we failed to know how to develop our production. Why did we fail to know how to develop this production? Because we failed to know how to really improve the running of our economy. Social problems also are caused by the economic problems. You talk about the October [1988] events. Take those who demonstrated in October 1988: If you look closely, each of them might not even have a place to live, or he lives with 10 other people in one room or one flat. There is unemployment: 1.5 million unemployed is not little. There is also the issue of indebtedness, in other words the issue of the country's external financial situation. Where did indebtedness come from, how did we tackle it, and how did it bring us to today's situation? All this has nothing

to do with democracy and with the start of the democratic process. On the contrary, had there been democracy a bit earlier, I am convinced that we would not have come to this.

[Correspondent] You talked about debts, are we forced willy-nilly to resort to rescheduling.

[Ghazali] I would like to clarify anew my position with regard to rescheduling although I already had several opportunities to condemn what has been said about the government's position in this field. What is rescheduling? Let us say something to the people so that they do not feel that we are talking over their heads. Rescheduling of debts is a process that comes when a country finds itself unable to repay its debts, that is to say, when its resources are insufficient to pay back its debts. When such a country finds itself in such a situation, it forced to go to the banks saying I cannot pay 100 million, or as is the case with Algeria, eight billion dollars a year, so I am asking you to ease the burden for me. The banks refer you to the IMF. The IMF says to you—if you have reached this situation—that the deficit indicates that your economic policy or general economic practices are unsound, and therefore, in order to help you and to allow the banks to help you, it imposes conditions which usually infringe upon the sovereignty of the country. Therefore, in my view, resorting to rescheduling is the worst possibility for a country. But at the same time—and this I said in 1989 when I was a finance minister—merely saying that rescheduling is not good would not be sufficient for policy making. You should act so as not to fall in the situation of being unable to repay your debts.

Therefore, and this is known to you, and do not consider it as a criticism of the previous government, I have found myself facing a the fact the external financial position was akin to the circumstances which lead to rescheduling. But since it has been formed, the government has rejected this possibility, and has worked and is still working to get out of this situation. Getting out of this situation means the launching of operations aimed at increasing our own resources, so as to become able to restore an acceptable level of foreign currency reserves and rectify the exchange reserves [last few words in French] by mobilizing our own resources. This action is for the medium term.

As for the current or present term—I mean from today, or June, to the end of the year—the task is to try and put out the fire. In other words to try and obtain some hard currency [French word 'devises' used] in order not to fall ultimately in the trap, namely the rescheduling of debts.

[Correspondent] Are you optimistic about this? Do you sense something to this effect?

[Ghazali] I am very optimistic as regards the medium term because I know what our capacities are, particularly relating to our natural resources. As regards the present time, from today to the end of December, the preoccupations I have expressed since the installation of the government are still strong and I cannot talk about

optimism because we are not in a position to control our chances. Why is that? Because the previous government relied on external loans to resolve indebtedness.

[Correspondent] In other words, did the previous government follow another path and did it make a choice which led to this?

[Ghozali] The path we chose is completely different from the path chosen by the previous government. The previous government relied on refinancing [French word "refinancement" used]. In other words, it used to go to the banks to ask for loans to pay back the debts. This is a technical method which could be sound if it does not come on its own and if it is only part of a more comprehensive or wider action. If we restrict ourselves to this method, and this is what regrettably happened, in other words if we try to cure indebtedness through debts, this method will only lead to an increase in the volume of the debts and ultimately to the impasse where we find ourselves.

[Ghozali] The policy pursued by this government is naturally not to underestimate what can be acquired through the foreign banks and the IMF. Although this would only be a wound dressing to act as a tranquilizer, but it would also allow the country to come out of the crisis I have already mentioned. [passage omitted]

Therefore, when we look at all the problems we suffer from we find the first cause is the inadequate amount of hard currency. If we did not work toward securing this amount our situation will only deteriorate day by day. This what has prompted us to consider the work of the Algerian. We said the Algerian must work. However, the Algerian wants to work yet we did not allow him to work. The State is lagging behind. Well then there are our natural resources. There are the gasoline and the [natural] gas, why don't we use these resources which are capable of getting us out of the crisis? And without encroaching on the future of the country, without harming the interests or the rights of future generations.

[Correspondent] You are answering a question I have not put forward yet, namely the sale of 20 percent of Hassi Messaoud, the sale of oil wells which some people consider part of the economic sovereignty and the future generations.

[Ghozali] Look here, the issue of selling the land or the wells is emanating from those who intend to hint to the Algerian people and Algerian public opinion that this government intends to sell the depths of the earth. [Batin al-Ardh] This government and at the top of it the Head of the government are more aware than anyone else that the depth of the earth is the property of the Algerian people, property of the State, and there is no one that can sell the depth of the earth. Hence, this is a tendentious interpretation.

We know who is behind this. They want to mislead the people. Those who used to mislead the people in the past are still misleading the people today. No the operation is

not this one. The operation is that we have oil. We have fields. These fields are exploited at only a small level. We are going to exploit Hassi Messaoud and other fields. There are 130 fields in Algeria. All these fields have reserves. We are exploiting this reserve at an unfavorable level. [passage omitted]

Today, we are slaving away and going to a lot of trouble to get \$1 or \$2 two billion from banks. At the same time, the Algerian people should know that we will be sleeping on top of \$150 billion [that would be earned] from oil, i.e. we do not exploit it we will be losing this completely. Therefore, the issue concerns \$150 billion. Do you want me to say it to you in centimes? [passage omitted saying Algeria's debts are about \$25 billion]

Therefore, the issue is this: How are we going to exploit these resources which we have not made use of. There were people who used to tell the Algerian people that oil would be finished after 10 or 15 years. This is a lie. This is a lie. I bet you after 15 years some people will come and tell you that [oil will last] only 15 years. Oil and gas in Algeria still have very very long future. We say this to you and we confirm it and we confirm it to the Algerian people. They must not mislead the Algerian people. Those people who tell the Algerian people lies by saying that only 10 or 15 years remain. This is a lie and I say it again: This is a lie.

[Correspondent] This leads me to ask you this: according to hearsay, an oilwell has been discovered but it is a secret. Are there really (newly discovered) reserves or something of this sort?

[Ghozali] I swear that there is nothing secret and as you know, this government is one of transparency.

[Correspondent] Is it not sweeping the dust under the carpet?

[Ghozali] There is nothing secret. There are well-known facts. When you look at the statistics of the French [sentence unfinished], I have the official statistics which the French administration presented in the sixties. These statistics said that [oil in] Hassi Messaoud would be depleted by the end of the seventies. The fact is that Hassi Messaoud is still producing [oil] and it will go on producing at least \$150 billion, on top of what it is producing now. Therefore, the main method in the recovery of our resources because the money which comes from our fields does not have the same value and is not of the same volume as the money which comes from abroad. The money which comes from abroad depends and is mortgaged on goodwill from abroad, it may or may not come. As regards our resources, they depend on our own goodwill. This is the method in our policy. Naturally, there are other things, there are reforms, for example the reform of the national economy. But the reform of the national economy is delayed. We cannot talk about reforms when the train is out of order. You have a car and you want to improve it. It can run but you want to improve it to make it run

better and faster but you have not got any fuel. First of all give it fuel and then repair it.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, the new format in the programme 'Dialogue' is to invite a journalist to interview the guest for 15 minutes. Shortly, we will have with us my colleague Fatiha Akeb of ALGERIE-ACTUALITE. Mr. Prime Minister: The people have no confidence in the government and governments fall. Then it is said that the men leave the country while in fact they have hardly time to go to bed. They said this about Kasdi Merbah and they said it about Mouloud Hamrouche [former prime ministers], and they may say it about you if you leave the government. Mr. Ghazali, what is the reason and what is happening in the government?

[Ghazali] You said that the people do not have confidence in government. The reason is not the one to which you have pointed. The reason is the difficulty which I experience. I said that first of all the method of action must depend on telling the truth to the people. I know that the people and many citizens will not believe me. It is because they got used to the people who used to tell them lies. They got used to it. But I am determined. I believe in the policy of transparency. They accused me. They said that he is going to take revenge from the previous government. How did I do this?

There is no one who would like to tell his brother or his friend bad news. I wish I could. I wish I could tell the Algerian people: Your financial state is good, thanks be to God. Your economic state is good, thanks be to God. If I told the Algerian people this, would they believe me? They would not believe me. Second, I did not take revenge against anyone. The fact is, I inherited a certain financial state. The government tried to confront these difficulties and these problems. This is what we are trying to do, not taking revenge.

Those people who said we came to take revenge have a terrorist plan. They want to silence me. They did not want me to tell the truth to the people. I forgot to say that it is not the government of Sid Ahmed Ghazali which is going to hide the truth from the Algerian people and which is trying to have talks with the IMF on 12 September in secret. You remember that the members of the [former] government—the officials; the prime minister forgot to announce that there was a discussion—negotiations—with the IMF. The government negotiated and it signed the contract in April. This was a secret even kept from the other members of the government. [sentence indistinct]

There is a law, to give another example, which requires the Bank of Algeria and the government to declare [unspecified] every month—Article 101. These are my figures. But for 17 months there has never been a declaration. Why must we hide the truth from the Algerian people? [sentence indistinct] There is a terrorist operation seeking to make me follow the same method. I do not tell lies to the people. I do not lie to the people. I

have problems and I am trying to tackle them. There is another political aspect which I will talk about later on.

[Akeb] Mr. Ghazali, the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS] staged a strike, we found ourselves in a state of siege, Hamrouche's government fell, and our electoral laws were changed. Despite all this, it is possible that this party [FIS] will not take part in the elections. What problem has changing the electoral laws resolved?

[Ghazali] We have not changed the electoral law yet. I wish we had. My hope is to change the law as soon as possible so we can hold these elections before the end of the year, God willing. This is my hope and this was my pledge to the people on 9 June in this very place, on television. The first mission entrusted to this government was to prepare proper and free elections as soon as possible. Why was that? In order to escape the vicious circle in which we find ourselves since the Constitution of 23 February 1983. The Constitution of 23 February 1983 established multiparty politics in principle. So, after 23 February all the regulations and the laws became incompatible with the Constitution. What could I do? Abrogate them all? The country cannot live without laws. I said that we should give ourselves the time to gradually adapt all the institutions and all the laws to the Constitution and to multiparty politics. We did the same on 12 June 1990 with the municipal and provincial elections. The June events were not caused by the strike. You know that it is not the strike. The causes, when we start analyzing—although we do not have the time to analyze all the causes—on the whole the cause that led to the state of siege was violence. It was violence that created the situation, ask all the citizens, the Algerian people, if they have not felt and noticed that the country or the situation in the country had become...[changes thought] or that the security of the citizen was threatened. It was not the strike which led to the state of siege. It was, on the whole, the use of violence which eventually threatened the security of the citizens, the security of the country, and the security of institutions. So, we said that in order to get out of that situation, for the first time in the country's history and within the framework of multiparty politics, let us give the Algerian people the opportunity people to choose their representatives. That is all. I do not believe that the realization of this new parliament and it will be realized, God willing,—will resolve all our problems. However, I consider that it is a necessary step so that this parliament and the government, which will be answerable to it, is a government stemming from the will of the people and so that it is a starting point to enable us to tackle our problems.

You said that there is no trust between the people and the rulers, I say the link between the rulers and the citizens was severed a long time ago. In order to restore it, we always try, this government always tries, to restore trust in people and to show to the Algerian people that there is a new type of relationship between the government and the citizens. God willing, when the legislative elections are held they will enable the Algerian people to

choose their own representatives. Our hope is to see all the parties take part in these elections.

[Akeb] Let us suppose, Mr. Ghazali, that we have called a general election and lifted the state of siege. Are there any guarantees that the FIS activists will not take the streets of Bab el-Oued and seize the opportunity to demand the release of the detainees? Furthermore, as head of the government, you have received Mr. Hacheni [acting FIS leader]. Is it possible to say that there is a dialogue today between the FIS and the government? Is there any sort of guarantee for a dialogue, or can we just lift the state of siege without any problem?

[Ghazali] Dialogue with the FIS or with FIS officials started before the appointment of my government. Dialogue has been continuous. We have repeatedly expressed our commitment for such dialogue, not only with the FIS but with all parties, with no conditions but one—respect for the principles of the democratic game, i.e. categorical rejection of the use of violent means. This is the only condition. It is only possible to introduce democracy when of the sons of Algeria, be they individuals, parties, or groups, respect the law and do not challenge it. If someone does not like the law, let him change it, but only through the people. As long as a law has not been changed, we ought to respect it. We must respect the law.

Thus, your proposition rests with the leaders of all parties and the FIS officials, as you were referring to the FIS.

God willing, the the state of siege will be lifted. This does not, however, mean that the state is going to abandon its main responsibility, which is keeping order and respect for the law. Furthermore, all brothers should rest assured and all people should understand that lifting the state of siege does not mean barring the state from carrying out its powers and responsibilities. The state will continue carrying out its responsibilities more than ever before in a meticulous manner.

[Akeb] Mr. Ghazali, Abassi Madani and Ali Belhadj are on a hunger strike. Their lawyers are trying to politicize their case. We heard today that a committee for solidarity with the detainees has been set up that includes [former foreign minister] Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi and [former prime minister] Abdelhamid Brahimi. What is your analysis of all this? Are these pressures being brought about to bear on the government in order to impose upon it a political solution for the problem? Or is it merely that some personalities are trying to seize the opportunity to gain some popularity behind the FIS's back?

[Ghazali] As far as the government is concerned, dealing with the issue of those people who are being detained or the workers who have been dismissed from jobs has always been based on a continuous effort to calm the atmosphere. As far as the problem of dismissed workers, we have given our directives. Why directives? Because the the government has no right to give orders to company managers. The people must understand that

our laws do not permit—in fact, categorically bar—the government from ordering any company manager to do something or refrain from doing something, as well as from ordering him to dismiss someone or reinstate someone else.

However, we have given political instructions. We told them to humanely resolve the problems of those people and those brothers who took part in the strike. What has happened? More than 97 percent of those workers who were dismissed in a legal manner, by managers who acted within the framework of the law, have been reinstated.

As far as those detainees, God does not ask anyone to shoulder more than he can. The law does not permit me or any other Algerian official to intervene in cases awaiting trials. However, when we had some mechanisms, when we were allowed by the law to do something about detainees who were not awaiting trial—those who were detained in police stations, those who were in detention centers or security centers—they were not awaiting trial—the government intervened and they were freed from those centers.

As far as other brothers and officials are concerned, they are awaiting trial. I am not the judge. We have a state of the law. Responsibilities are defined for everyone. The judiciary is independent of the government and of the executive branch.

[Akeb] One last question. Mr. Ghazali, you said a few minutes ago that the government is not desirous of rescheduling, although we have problems paying off debts. What could make our creditors, such as France, not impose rescheduling on us? What political motives are there?

[Ghazali] Officially, France has nothing to do with our affairs. But France is among our creditors. Opinions vary there. Some administrations would like to force Algeria into rescheduling. There are other opinions pointing in a different direction. The problem is the behavior that landed our country in a situation where its fate is not 100 percent in our own hands. That is proof that the policy that was followed before was not sound. Had it been sound, we would not have reached the level of losing control over our own decisionmaking. What do you call that? That is the result of lying; of the policy of lying and repeated ill-treatment of the people. Some could call it treason.

[Correspondent] We continue the conversation with the prime minister with another question. In addition to different types of pressure on the external level, finance and so on, there is obviously a crisis with the FIS. Do you have a problem with the FLN, the press holding, and so forth?

[Ghazali] I do not have any crisis with the FLN. Politically, I am the product of the FLN. I am an Executive Committee member. The need arose when I was nominated for office—I was forced—I was of the opinion that

in the interests of the country, it was necessary that the government be independent of parties. Obviously, that was not out of hate for the FLN. This is a transitional government for which I want independence from the parties so that it may have some credibility in the eyes of the people, because its main responsibility is preparation for clean and free elections. I would like to demonstrate to the people that this government did not come to serve the interests of any one party. In addition, I asked all members of the government, including myself, not to stand in the legislative elections so that the people can rest assured that this group has not come to prepare a recipe for this or that person. On the contrary, I believe—and this does not contradict my status as the head of a government independent of the parties—I am one of those who still believes that the FLN has an essential role in achieving democratic progress. This is my answer as an FLN militant.

Maybe I could answer as a citizen and as prime minister. As prime minister, I have no problem with the FLN. But—and this is fact, not analysis—there is a small number of FLN senior members who unfortunately tend to use the FLN not in the interests of its strategy—there is unfortunately no FLN strategy—but in the interests of personal strategies that are aimed at achieving personal ambitions. Have you noticed that this poor orphan government.... [changes thought] Obviously, I asked for help from the Algerian people. Why? Because I knew I could not expect any help from the parties of the opposition. That is natural. They are in opposition, so why ask them to support the government.

The only party that verbally announced support for the government, albeit quietly.... [changes thought] There are senior members who work day and night to destroy this government. You have witnessed the information campaigns against individuals, campaigns that harm the dignity of people. There is a program. They began with the minister in charge of relations between the parties and parliament; then they moved on to the labor and social affairs minister, then the culture and health ministers. The program is still running until it reaches the prime minister.

All these campaigns try to destabilize the government. Those people can see me and I am addressing them. I say to them: If your intentions are to make this government fail, you cannot succeed. Why? Because this government is attached to a firm bond that cannot be undone, because we are not here out of personal ambition but for the sake of the country's interests and the country's interests alone. We worked hard. If you work hard and succeed, you reap a double reward. If you work hard and fail, you still reap a reward. We are struggling for at least one reward, but might be able to reap two. Why not. [passage omitted]

As a citizen, I regret that those people are giving the Algerian citizens the impression that they have no intention of allowing power to alternate. The question here is this: When we talk about the democratic process, this

means that everyone of us ought to accept the principle of allowing power to alternate between different parties. Otherwise there will be no democracy; there will be no democracy.

With regret, those people, although a minority, are giving the impression that the FLN has no intention of playing the game of power sharing. Therefore, I fear that such a holding as set up by the FLN—I notice in it a name or two—of course I prefer it to be a mechanism in the service of the FLN—is going to be a mechanism of war against the government and to make the government fail.

[Correspondent] Do all Algerians have the right to criticize you?

[Ghozali] Of course, of course. Every Algerian has that right. Algerians are criticizing us. However, harming the dignity of Algeria is a different matter. Members of the government are also Algerians, please do not forget that. They did not lose their Algerianness as soon as they became members of a government that is not to the liking of some people. I am not here telling people what to do. Everyone can criticize. As far as I am concerned, criticism benefits me. However, these are maneuvers. Here there is no need to dwell on what is taking place in the financial field and the rumors surrounding it, which are trying to make the government fail in its attempt to obtain loans. This is not merely criticism.

As far as I am concerned, I welcome criticism. Remember my meetings with the opposition parties. There was no demagoguery. I believe in dialogue. However, the difference between myself and those I just mentioned is the fact that when I say something that is not nice, I say it straight and publicly. The people can hear me and be my witness, whereas they use other methods, premeditated methods. They set up mechanism and vehicles of war to hit us. This is not a democratic game. No, no—these are maneuvers for a political war. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Speaking about the future leads us to talk about the forthcoming elections and your new plan for such elections. Is there anything new about which you can inform the Algerian people?

[Ghozali] What is new? First, we have repeatedly talked about free and fair elections. You are aware that before we made our draft proposal we made a number of moves, which were all planned from the beginning. Everything that we have done was planned from the start.

As soon as I had my first meeting with the leaders of the parties, I told them of my main task, which was the preparation for free and fair elections, and I told them that as soon as the government is formed, I would contact them anew, because my intention is that I will not draft any proposals before consulting them and

coordinate with them. It is my desire that the government's draft proposal have some kind of credibility, which is a very important psychological factor in a case like this.

Let us not forget that one of the reasons for the May disaster is the feeling among Algerians that the elections were not taking a course liable to give them some sort of respect. Therefore, I told the parties that we would meet again, converse, and coordinate. That was what we did. I do not think that those meetings are.... [changes thought] That was scheduled from the outset. I told the National People's Assembly about it on 4 July. I told them that I would meet with the parties, consult and coordinate with them, listen to their opinions, and that, in order to achieve this proposal and if the need arises for changing the law, I would get back to them. I said that on 4 July, did I not?

Therefore, we did what we did, God willing, on time. We drafted the new proposal and submitted it to the National People's Assembly last Wednesday.

[Correspondent] Are you optimistic that the National People's Assembly will approve a proposal different from the past?

[Ghozali] God willing. I have asked the National People's Assembly to enable me to achieve this proposal. The government openly made a pact with the people and the head of state. I told them it is a question of time. If we want this proposal to be passed before the end of the year, to take three months off the legal period, it has to be put to the vote before the end of September. I asked the deputies for help and I know their attachment to national interests. There are, in fact, a number of brother deputies who are embarrassed to change a law they have passed. There should be no embarrassment, for this is not the first time that the National People's Assembly has changed a law.

What is new in this law? First, guarantees. Obviously, the administration is responsible for the supervision of processes. It is the state that is responsible for the process of elections. At the same time, we assigned a guard to every box. The box is never left alone with the administration, never. It should always have the state's employees or the representatives of the candidates or parties. [passage omitted]

Second, although this cannot be mathematically claimed, we could say that we have achieved a little equality among Algerians. Why? Because this a National Assembly and the nation has to know that a deputy does not come from Ouargla to represent that place alone. Each deputy has a national task. [passage omitted]

Therefore, in nominating this national body, all Algerians have to contribute in equal measure, as much as possible. That is what we tried to achieve through electoral redivision. We made a distinction between electoral and administrative divisions. Administrative division [word indistinct] we did not touch at all. On the

contrary, district offices are legalized. Maybe some people will say that the government will change.... [changes thought] No, the administrative division we have not changed. You have noticed that I signed the decree confirming the setting up of over 200 district offices. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] With regard to age?

[Ghozali] With regard to age, we have made a change. In the present law—the law has not been changed yet—it is 30 years. We said the Algerian society should make a gesture towards its youth. This is an occasion for the Algerian society to express its faith in its youth. We are going to reduce the age to 27 years. The government is ready. Why 27? We said that after elementary schooling, secondary schooling, university studies, national service, it all adds up to our young people reaching the age of 27. Why 27? The first time I entered civil service I was 27 years old. How can I, as prime minister, not have faith in 27-year-old youths becoming members of parliament?

[Correspondent] But Mr. Prime Minister, this would require at the presidential elections to change the constitution and even reduce the age of eligibility for a candidate to the post of president of the republic from 40 years to.... [changes thought] but taking interest in youth is something and this is something else and it is the parliament that legislates this, because a 27-year-old deputy can be elected as president of the people's assembly, the most important legislative institution in the country—he can even become president of the republic.

[Ghozali] Why not? Why not? There are people who are 25 years old, if we talk about deputies, who are more mature than some people who are 35 or even 40 years old. It all depends. Let us give the opportunity to all Algerian youths and let the people choose and decide who has the experience and qualifications. Let the people choose.

[Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, we have exceeded the allotted time by a few minutes, but this does not prevent me from giving you the last word, especially as we live under these particular circumstances, but before this I have a question about the state of siege. After 5 October, which is the date for the automatic lifting of the state of siege, because the state of siege has been in force for four months, is there another date?

[Ghozali] I hope it will be possible to lift the state of siege before the 5 October, but the date has not been determined yet. It can be lifted before 5 October, but 5 October is the limit allowed by the law.

[Correspondent] If the president of the republic consulted you, what date would you suggest?

[Ghozali] Before the end of this month.

[Correspondent] Any final words, Mr. Prime Minister?

[Ghozali] For my final words, let me address the audience. At the beginning you talked about the crisis—by the way, you did not say you were criticizing the government, you were expressing a fact...

[Correspondent, interrupting] I know you are democratic and you would let us talk.

[Ghozali] You were expressing a fact. It is true, the Algerian people are living through a crisis. Without minimizing this, I am very aware of the size of the problems the people face daily, and the most serious of the problems is fear or anxiety for the future of the country. Therefore, in view of the size of the problems—I know the Algerian people do not expect this government to solve all these problems in three or six months or a year, but I know on the other hand, and this is a legitimate demand, that the people do not demand that we resolve all its problems or help them resolve all the problems—but it is their right to demand to be given the prospects. What are the prospects? Is it possible that Algeria tomorrow will see the light at the end of the tunnel? What I would like to say to the Algerian people is that the situation is unsatisfactory and the problems are not easy, but I wish to bear glad tidings to the Algerian people: They have the capability to get out of this crisis. I am not bearing glad tidings in words only. If I were to take a verse of the Koran, I would say to them: Spacious is God's earth. Those who patiently persevere will truly receive a reward without measure. Whenever I face problems I say: Spacious is God's earth. Those who patiently persevere will truly receive a reward without measure. Patience is needed, and at the same time, work. Spacious is God's earth means that Algeria is spacious. Algeria has the capability, the people, the experience, and we have to use them wisely, but we should make moves with a view, in order to resolve all the problems simultaneously. We have to be patient, and the building of democracy requires patience. We should bear the negative aspects of democracy. He who wants the fish should not mind getting his trousers wet. We have opted for democracy. So be it. Democracy has positive aspects. We cannot demand democracy; in other words, we cannot benefit from its positive aspects and not bear its negative aspects. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Thank you again dear viewers. I hope that you will be with us next Saturday at the same time. May God's peace and blessings be upon you.

Egypt

Foreign Minister Receives U.S. Secretary Baker

NC1709154691 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1500 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Cairo, 17 Sep (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa this evening met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who is currently visiting Cairo as part of a regional tour. Also attending the meeting on the Egyptian side were Ahmad Abu-al-Ghayt, director of the

Foreign Minister's Office, and on the U.S. side, Baker's aides who are accompanying him on his current tour.

Mubarak Comments on Talks With Baker

NC1709211291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2000 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Cairo, 17 Sep (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak has expressed hope that the Middle East peace conference will be held in October so that it will be possible to give hope to the peoples of the region, to avoid bloodshed, and live in amity and cooperation.

He was speaking at a news conference which he and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker held following a session of talks that lasted for two and a half hours and included a working dinner this evening hosted by President Mubarak at the Presidential Palace.

President Mubarak thanked the United States for the major efforts that President Bush and Secretary Baker are making in the peace process. He noted that the issue in question is a very complex one.

President Mubarak added: We are now approaching a conference at which all the parties will be able to sit and negotiate all the issues so that peace may prevail in the region. When I say peace, I mean the stability of the entire region. All the region's countries will benefit from the peace and Israel might benefit more than any other country.

Baker then made a statement in which he thanked President Mubarak for the warm welcome he accorded him and his delegation and for the talks which he conducted with his excellency over the working dinner tonight. [passage omitted]

President Mubarak and Baker then answered reporters' questions. On the current crisis between Israel and the United States over the \$10-billion loan guarantees Israel is requesting for the settlement of Soviet immigrants, President Mubarak said that he did not discuss the issue with Baker today because it is a matter that concerns the United States and Israel.

He added: We are looking forward to the conference in order to achieve peace. What is happening between the United States and Israel, however, is a matter that concerns them and particularly concerns the United States, which is the most major country and which is seeking to attain world stability and peace.

Mubarak announced: Peace is very beneficial for us, for the United States, and also for the Israelis. For this reason it is necessary to attend the conference once all the parties have given their agreement to come to it.

Answering a question on Israel's continued settlement building in the occupied territories, President Mubarak said: I discussed this issue before and made a statement on the matter during Secretary Baker's last visit to Alexandria.

His excellency added: Let us negotiate now and seek to convene the conference without delay so that all the cards will be put on the table, including settlement building in the occupied territories. [passage omitted]

Asked about Egyptian-Palestinian coordination to reach a compromise on the issue of East Jerusalem's representatives, President Mubarak said: I do not want to discuss the East Jerusalem issue for the media. He added: Let this issue be discussed at the peace conference. We consider Palestinian representation a factor that will help the attainment of peace and the convocation of the conference.

Asked about the possible venue of the conference, the president said: We discussed some points connected with this matter, but so far no final decision has been reached on where to hold it. [passage omitted on Baker's remarks]

Mubarak Reiterates Confidence in Government

NC1609181891 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1640 GMT
16 Sep 91

[Text] Cairo, 16 Sep (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak has reiterated that he trusts the present Egyptian Government. He denied that he had accused it of being slow, saying that the government achieved the impossible and went out of its way to untangle very complex issues.

In an interview with Mufid Fawzi, chief editor of SABAH AL-KHAYR, to be published tomorrow, President Mubarak said his major concern when he took office was the economic situation, because the economy is the mainstay of politics. Therefore his main concern was investment in Egypt, since it represents hope for those looking for jobs.

The president reiterated that he is eager to provide all the necessary facilities needed for work, production, and profit without any restrictions for businessmen and capital investors. He stressed, however, that businessmen should help the citizens, who in turn will protect them and their factories. This ultimately will lead to the establishment of social justice, he said.

The president added that Egypt takes what suits it from both the capitalist and socialist systems in order to achieve social justice in the end.

The president emphasized that the citizen has the right to know all the facts. He added that he has a clear vision of the Egyptian economy, referring in this context to the completion of the First Five-Year Plan. We are now implementing the Second Five-Year Plan and preparing for the third, he said.

Orders To Fire on Israeli Planes Reported

NC1709113091 Beirut AL-SHIRA in Arabic
16 Sep 91 p 13

[Text] The Egyptian Embassy in Tel Aviv has received strict instructions from the Egyptian Foreign Ministry to closely follow the domestic situation in Israel and the settlement plan for the West Bank and Gaza and to keep an eye on the daily arrival of Jewish immigrants. An embassy report says that between 250 and 270 new immigrants arrive in Israel every day mostly from the Soviet Union. Some 1,600 immigrants arrived in Israel the week following the failed Soviet coup, including 1,395 Soviet Jews.

The embassy reports concerned Egyptian officials enough for them to issue instructions that no Israeli plane transporting Jewish immigrants is to be allowed to pass through Egyptian airspace. Egypt will fire missiles at any plane failing to comply with these instructions. Egypt has notified the Israeli Embassy in Cairo about these instructions and told officials there to relay the information to the Tel Aviv government.

Israeli Threats Cannot 'Scare' President Bush

NC1609143091 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt
Radio Network in Arabic 1140 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Commentary by Bahiy-al-Din Shu'ayb: "Israel Throws the Gauntlet in the Face of President Bush"]

[Text] The battle between Yitzhaq Shamir and President Bush has reached its peak following the Israeli Government's decision to ignore Bush's threat to postpone \$10 billion in loan guarantees and approach Congress directly to obtain the necessary loan guarantees. This means that the Israeli Government, following a meeting attended in full, has decided to ignore President Bush as President of the United States, to disregard his decisions, and to speak directly to the Congress so it could make the necessary decision.

It once was said that Israel is one of the U.S. states, to indicate the depth of ties between the two countries. But this new development and the Israeli Government's defiance of the U.S. President by going over his head and speaking directly to the U.S. legislature shows that Israel has decided to go further than being a U.S. state by asserting that the United States is an Israeli county.

It must be the first time in the history of international relations that a country has overstepped all international norms by deciding to speak directly to a legislature of an independent country that is involved in a dispute with the president of this country. To show those near and far that Israel is determined to go all the way in challenging the U.S. President, it has decided that President Bush is anti-semitic, an accusation which no Israeli official has dared to make against the President of the United States throughout the history of U.S.-Israeli relations.

If Israel has overstepped its political bounds by making the most despicable accusation in its political dictionary against President Bush—branding him as anti-semitic—it also has exceeded all limits of ethics by calling President Bush a liar. Perhaps some will ask how Israel could dare call President Bush all these bad political and unethical names and at the same time still find a sympathetic ear in U.S. political quarters. The fact is that the penetration of Jewish influence into the United States and the longstanding security and political relations between the two countries over the years have given Israel the strong impression that it could, should the need arise, impose its will on the highest authority in the United States. Because large segments of U.S. society have been influenced a great deal by the brainwashing techniques used by the Jewish pressure groups to distort the image of the Arabs and the Arab causes, these segments have been molded in accordance with Israeli objectives. Thus, by throwing the gauntlet in the face of President Bush, who only asked that the request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees to Israel be postponed until the Middle East peace conference is convened, Israel has exposed the policy of extortion it has perfected and which has become characteristic of its conduct with others.

But we believe Israel is mistaken, because it started a battle at the wrong time and in the wrong place. If it imagines it could score an outright or partial victory in this battle, this shows what Israel really thinks of U.S. citizens; that they could sell out their national dignity under the pressure of being called anti-semitic, of falling into the Arabs' trap, of being liars, or of failing to understand the facts of international politics.

We believe that the Israeli Government's threats could scare a small, poor country that tries to shut down an Israeli consulate on its territory for violating diplomatic customs, but the Israeli ministers' threats cannot under any circumstances scare President Bush.

'Arafat Briefed on Baker-Palestinian Talks

NC1709141591 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1212 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Tunis, 17 Sep (MENA)—A MENA correspondent in Tunis has learned that PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has received a report from the Palestinian delegation on the outcome of its three-hour meeting yesterday with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Jerusalem. The correspondent also has learned that 'Arafat has sent the results of the Palestinian delegation meeting with James Baker to PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas, alias Abu-Mazin, who currently is visiting Cairo to brief Egyptian officials on these results. [passage omitted]

Morocco

Hassan Views Sahara, Europe, Mideast Peace

LD1709224191 Rabat MAP in Arabic 1600 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Paris, 17 Sep (MAP)—King Hassan II has granted an interview to the Paris magazine LA TRIBUNE DE L'EXPANSION in which he talked about a number of issues pertaining to Morocco; the continental link with Europe via Gibraltar; Morocco's membership in the EC and Morocco's relations with Spain, France, Germany, and Italy; in addition to the question of the Middle East peace process. The interview was given to Jean-Louis Servan-Schraiber. [passage omitted]

Speaking of the Sahara question, which has in principle reached its final stage, and the repercussions the final peace in the Sahara will have in providing economic opportunities for the Moroccan economy, King Hassan II said that if Morocco had decided throughout the last 16 years to shoulder this military and financial burden, it was because the matter affects a basic issue.

He added: The problem is nearing a solution. We can envisage that the erasing of the war burden will produce a psychological improvement as well as an economic development. Consequently, he said, we will calmly reap the fruits of our investments in the Sahara, which are considerable. For example, he said, you can now travel by car from Tangiers to Nouadibou along 2300 kilometers of asphalted road.

On whether there were benefits or economic resources in the Sahara, King Hassan II answered that he did not talk about the Sahara alone, but about Africa. For instance, there was talk about the Saharan phosphates. However that phosphates represented less than 10 percent of the Moroccan reserves, which were estimated as sufficient for 1000 years. Therefore, Saharan phosphate could be truly considered a secondary matter, in spite of its good quality. [passage omitted]

On whether he wanted Morocco to catch up with the modern world and whether Western-style development could be applied to 12-century-old values without the complete practice of democratic freedoms, the Moroccan monarch expressed his belief that Morocco, in any case, was a country of the multiparty system and enjoyed freedoms. We are blamed for not having more freedoms, but does everybody else enjoy complete freedom? Let them give us time to establish that. We do not take lessons on this subject. Everyone legislates his freedom the way he considers right. He gave a reminder that laws were legislated according to the Islamic jurisprudence.

He said: Our spiritual values go back 12 centuries, and at that time they had every priority. They concern the necessary respect for the family and the preservation of traditions—and I do not say customs, because customs

could change, and we actually changed some of ours—but we preserve our traditions.

With regard to Morocco's application for membership in the EC and the unencouraging EC response, King Hassan II said that while the response was not encouraging, it was not frustrating either. He said that all urged him to be patient. Europe was previously an alliance and now it is turning into a club, and anyone wishing to join it must be able to perform the tasks laid upon it by this membership and be an active member. He said that the European population will reach 300 million, and they will be joined by the East European countries, which suffer shortages in everything. How will it be possible to meet the needs of these people in a satisfactory manner?

The king added: Who is the one closer to you? Economically the matter does not depend on saying "I want to be a European" but on saying "I want to be a European, because I will contribute with useful products." True, the king added, our products at present are not capable of competing sufficiently. For this, I say to the Europeans: "One day you will need a strategic depth. Let us discover rich and fertile land and share the fruits together." [passage omitted]

Asked for his vision of the situation six months after the Gulf war, King Hassan II said: We have not yet come out of the tunnel. There are still those Palestinian or Lebanese youths who grew up in very hard times and an atmosphere of bloodshed and killing, who could at any time in the future kill anyone without justification or ideology because they have been raised on the sound of machine guns.

These are the ones that frighten me. This is because they will not distinguish between Arabs and non-Arabs or between Muslims or Jews or Christians or Catholics or Protestants. That would be violence in itself.

Replying to a question about the chances of success of the Middle East peace process, King Hassan II said that as far as the horseman is concerned, the problem lies in his ability to place his foot in the spurs. If he is a good rider, then he can stay on the horse. Morocco had negotiated its independence. Consequently, we are fully aware what negotiations mean. Whether the negotiator has goodwill or bad will, by entering the negotiation process he finds himself restricted: For if he decides to leave the process, all would point their fingers at him. When the negotiator sits at the negotiating table, he becomes a prisoner of his presence.

Asked if he this would apply to the Israelis and the Palestinians now, King Hassan II said: We must not talk about the Palestinians alone, but about the Israelis and the Arabs in general. He expressed his belief that, like the Israelis, the Arabs have learned the best lessons from the recent Gulf war.

Naturally there is the onerous past. The memories of the past 45 years are still on people's minds. However, the war has proven that neither borders nor the depths of

territory can provide a guarantee against modern weapons. The Arabs must realize that if they want balanced development and benefit from their wealth, they must live in peace. Likewise, he said, the Israelis must also learn that they cannot live in isolation.

King Hassan added that he was a human being [words indistinct] believes that it is better to resolve the problem by dialogue. He recalled that this was what he constantly called his Arab friends and the Israelis to do. The king added: Frankly speaking, I do not believe that Shamir will work for peace.

This was not due in the first place to his nature, for he is a realist. But he does not value peace, because he does not wish to give the impression that he has betrayed his generation. He belongs to the generation of rigid leaders. Hence, he does not want to deviate from this line. But he must admit that those who will succeed him from the coming generation will have to work for peace. I do not see in his attitude any stubbornness or foolishness. I believe if I were in his place, I would take the same position.

Regarding the realization of peace, I have faith in the Israeli people's ability to achieve it. Shamir cannot remain in power forever. He will have to hand over the reins of power to another, younger person. It is not possible for Shamir to sign the peace document, just as was the case with Begin, Golda Meir, and Ben Gurion.

Speaking of the relations between Morocco and France now, after a year of tension, and whether it was in the interest of Morocco to maintain strong and distinguished relations with France in the next 10 or 20 years, King Hassan II said that relations between the two countries were neither better nor worse, pointing out that he always looked forward for the better.

He said what was good for Morocco was good for France, and vice versa. From 1993 onward, there will not be a Spain, a France, or a Germany. There will only be Europe. It is the duty of every country to have its traditional friends by its side.

It is in France's interest to be surrounded by its traditional friends, and not by clients in the Roman way. If France wants to play such a role, Morocco will be its best loyal and sincere friend.

Sudan

*More High-Level Officers Arrested

91AA0630A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT
in Arabic 4 Sep 91 pp 1,4

[Article by Imam Muhammad Imam and Muhammad al-Hasan Ahmad: "New Arrests in Sudanese Army Include Two Major Generals, Four Brigadier Generals, and One Colonel"]

[Text] The Sudanese army has embarked on a new campaign of arrests among the ranks of senior Sudanese army officers on the charge of participating in the coup attempt that the Khartoum government made public last month. This is at a time when a visit by Bernard Koshner, the French minister of state for humanitarian affairs, to south Sudan to meet with John Garang, touched off a crisis between the Sudanese and French governments.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned from informed sources that arrests among the Sudanese Armed Forces are still ongoing on the pretext of participation in the latest coup attempt. These arrests included some civilians, and the latest list of detainees included seven army officers, who are: Rear Adm. al-Tijani 'Ali Salih; Maj. Gen. Ahmad al-Bashir, commander of the artillery corps; Brig. Gen. 'Abd-al-Fattah Sa'id; Brig. Gen. 'Abd-al-Rahim al-'Ata; Brig. Gen. 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Nur; Commodore 'Abdallah 'Umar; and Col. al-Fatih 'Abd-al-Khaliq, who is a paratrooper.

These sources added that, in the course of the investigations, the Sudanese Government did not have conclusive evidence that a coup attempt was about to occur, and that the two armored and paratroop divisions training on the outskirts of the Sudanese capital did not have live ammunition, and that the commander in charge of training asked for live ammunition and additional communications gear.

His request raised suspicion among the Armed Forces high command that he might have been planning a coup attempt, and the command split among itself. One side favored providing him with live ammunition, and in the meantime taking the necessary precautions to thwart any kind of action, thereby obtaining evidence against the participants to be presented in court. The other view believed that any action by those troops, should it take hold in the Sudanese streets, could succeed or lead to heavy casualties and, therefore, it was better to arrest the leader along with the other officers who were in favor of providing the troops with ammunition.

The proponents of this view said that this was the only thread the regime could grasp in raising a din about the coup attempt and the ensuing arrests and dishonorable discharges.

In a new development, the Sudanese Government lodged an official protest with the French government concerning the visit Bernard Koshner, the minister of state for humanitarian affairs, made to southern areas controlled by the Sudanese Popular Liberation Army [SPLA], where he met with Col. John Garang at his command headquarters in Kapoeta.

The Sudanese News Agency reported that the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified the French charge d'affaires in Khartoum of Khartoum's official protest regarding the French minister's visit to Col. Garang's command headquarters, and that the Khartoum government viewed it as intervention in Sudan's internal affairs and a breach of diplomatic norms, describing it as an unfriendly act by the French Government toward the Sudanese Government.

The agency said that, by meeting with John Garang in Kapoeta at the beginning of last week, Koshner turned himself into a spokesman for the SPLA.

The French minister had visited Col. Garang at his command headquarters in Kapoeta for only a day en route to Nairobi, where he held a press conference in which he announced that Garang was still in control of his movement's leadership, that he felt this leadership was holding together firmly, and that he did not sense anything to support rumors about his ouster or about a coup against him.

The Sudanese News Agency quoted the Sudanese Foreign Ministry as saying that it was surprised to learn that Koshner had visited areas in the South controlled by the SPLA, even though he had twice postponed a visit to Khartoum.

The French minister's press statements provoked a diplomatic crisis between the Khartoum government and the French Government.

Sudanese officials were taken aback by his statement concerning the prospect of additional French aid to [Garang's] movement, and his intention to contact members of the EC to urge them not to confine their aid to the movement to food supplies, but rather to expand on the development and reconstruction of the southern regions that have been devastated by eight years of war.

On the other hand, Trevor Page, the representative of the UN World Food Program in Khartoum, denied that the Sudanese Government has suspended relief flights to southern Sudan.

Page said that the confusion over this matter was caused by the fact that both the Sudanese Government and the SPLA had been late in approving the relief flight schedule for this September by one day, but approval by both sides has been received, which means that the relief flights will be resumed on schedule.

On another level, the Sudanese Government yesterday maintained that its approval of [relief plan] Lifeline III was given as of last May and that the World Food Program did not require reauthorization to resume relief flights.

Kuwait

National Council Views Defense Pact With U.S.

Prime Minister Speaks

LD1709220691 London KUNA in Arabic 1713 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Sep (KUNA)—Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, heir apparent and prime minister, stressed that Kuwait will not hesitate to sign any agreement that concerns defense cooperation among brothers and friends. He said in a speech today before the National Council that the foreign ministers of the eight states which signed the Damascus Declaration have come out with an agreement on security and economic cooperation which the Kuwaiti Government will present to the National Council soon. He pointed out Kuwaiti contacts with the United States to find out its ability to cooperate on matters that concern the defense of the entity and independence of Kuwait. He said that the U.S. side expressed readiness, desire, and enthusiasm for preparing this agreement. His highness the heir apparent and prime minister affirmed that there were no secret supplements to this agreement, stressing that "we did not and are not accustomed to working in the dark but in only in the interest of the Kuwaiti people and their future at present and in the future." His highness revealed the existence of continuing Kuwaiti contacts with the UK. He said that France has expressed readiness to come to an understanding with the Kuwaiti authorities on matters which provide Kuwait with more security and to confront any aggression that threatens its security and entity. In referring to the provisions of the Kuwait-U.S. agreement, his highness said that the dialogue will continue between the two sides for developing this agreement for the better.

Foreign Minister Makes Report

LD1709224691 London KUNA in Arabic 1715 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 17 Sep (KUNA)—Shaykh Salim al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said the defense cooperation agreement with the United States aims to provide an efficient military defense cover. This is a temporary measure governed by a framework which determines the rights and the commitments in a way which preserves Kuwait's sovereignty and independence.

He added in a speech before the National Council today that the text of the agreement came in a balanced way, which achieves the aims it inspired without exaggeration or renunciation within a legal framework which guarantees the highest degrees of capability and competence. Shaykh Salim al-Sabah listed three principles which he said come on top of the basic principles of Kuwait's foreign policy. These are:

- Maintaining Kuwait's independence, freedom, and sovereignty on its territories in full.
- Considering Kuwait an indivisible part of the Arab nation.
- Continuing endeavors in the service of the causes of peace, justice, good-neighborliness, defense of the independence of the states, and preventing and resisting aggression in implementing UN Charter aims. [passage omitted]

He added: As the need remains to provide defense security for Kuwait with the support of the countries of the alliance, especially the United States, which had their role in liberating Kuwait, it was normal that Kuwait would be keen on continuing defense cooperation with it in a precise, legal framework which guarantees the highest degrees of capability and competence. Shaykh Salim al-Sabah said that the Kuwaiti-U.S. agreement includes Kuwait providing essential facilities and supplies to bolster its security and stability and to confront any aggression against it, while fully safeguarding its independence and sovereignty over its territories. He also noted the complete desire that the use of these essential facilities would be within the framework of respecting Kuwaiti laws and noninterference in its domestic affairs and full preservation of its traditions and customs, which are derived from its religion. He revealed that Kuwait will bear a great part of the financial burdens of this agreement, whereas the U.S. Government will bear another part dealing with the salaries of the U.S. Forces personnel, their training and preparation, and the expensidure of their armament and transportation. He said that the United States will undertake, in accordance with this agreement, to provide defense services, some of which is assumed—namely, commitment to defending Kuwait in implementing UN Security Council resolutions—and some of which is stated frankly, consisting of an addition to what those resolutions stipulated. Among the additions Shaykh Salim al-Sabah mentioned are training the Kuwaiti Armed Forces in the United States and in Kuwait and providing specialist advice in the affairs of defending Kuwait and pledging to provide the Kuwait forces with the necessary equipment and services.

Agreement Receives Approval

LD1709221191 London KUNA in Arabic 1405 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Sep (KUNA)—The National Council backed the Kuwaiti Government's decision to sign a defense cooperation agreement with the United States. This support came during yesterday's secret session chaired by Council President 'Abd-al-'Aziz Fahd al-Musa'id. The council listened to reports presented by His Highness Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the prime minister and heir apparent, and Foreign Minister Shaykh Salim al-Sabah al-Salim. These reports included the draft agreement's main features on defense, cooperation, facility use, backup supplies, the advance storage of defensive material, and the legal

status of the U.S. forces in Kuwait. The National Council statement made clear that it "recalls the tragedy and suffering experienced by the honorable Kuwaiti people under an ugly and treacherous Iraqi occupation which did not hesitate to shed blood, disgrace people's honor, and practice all sorts of oppression and persecution against the honorable and peaceful Kuwaiti people, ignoring all values, ethics, ideals, right of good-neighborliness, and lofty Islamic principles." It adds: "This tragedy dictates us all to stop and contemplate our affairs, to do our utmost to protect this people, and to preserve Kuwait's security and sovereignty, taking into consideration the fundamental principles." It defines these principles as: first, the full preservation of Kuwait's independence, freedom, and territorial sovereignty; second, Kuwait's indivisible role in the Arab nation family; and third, Kuwait's loyalty to the brothers and friends who stood by Kuwaiti rights and proved so during Kuwait's liberation. The statement adds: "The National Council desires cooperation with the government to preserve Kuwait's security and territorial integrity, and in preparedness to confront any future aggression or harm the country might be exposed. The council blesses and supports the government course to conclude an agreement with the U.S. Government to strengthen defense cooperation within the draft framework submitted by the government to the National Council." The council statement points out future government support to strengthen Kuwait's security and stability. The statement concludes: "We beseech God to spare Kuwait and its people every adversity and to perpetuate the grace of security and stability on it" under the leadership of his highness the amir and his highness the heir apparent and prime minister, may God preserve them.

Soviet Union's Primakov Leaves 17 Sep for Iran

LD1709111191 London KUNA in Arabic 0953 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Kuwait, 17 Sep (KUNA)—Yevgeniy Primakov, the personal envoy of the Soviet president left Kuwait this morning for Tehran after a visit lasting two days. During the visit he delivered a message from the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, to his highness the amir of Kuwait. Primakov told journalists before his departure that the visit was positive, and that the discussions dealt with bilateral relations and the efforts made to force Iraq to implement Security Council resolutions. He added that the Soviet Union will do its best to make Iraq release detained prisoners. The Soviet envoy also emphasized the need to work actively to convene the proposed international conference to solve the Middle East problem. He pointed out the cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in this respect. He expressed his belief that the convening of the conference would be the first step toward a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. He ruled out any quick results from the convening of the conference.

Concerning the situation inside the Soviet Union, Primakov said that "the situation is reassuring," and he

underlined the existence of some problems. Answering a question, Primakov expressed his belief that the current situation in the Soviet Union would not affect Soviet-Arab relations. He pointed out that the Soviet Union would maintain its activities in the region "in order to preserve stability there."

'Text' of Prime Minister's Italian Interview

LD1309165191 London KUNA in Arabic 0946 GMT
13 Sep 91

["Full text" of interview with Kuwaiti Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah by unidentified Italian television correspondent in Rome; date not given]

[Text] Rome, 13 Sep (KUNA)—Here now follows the full text of the interview with His Highness Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, Kuwaiti amir and heir apparent, by Italian television:

Correspondent: The world cannot find any explanation for the easy way with which Iraq was able to invade Kuwait. The concentration of the Iraqi forces along the Kuwaiti borders was evident for quite a while. Why did you not ask for U.S. help before the catastrophe occurred?

Al-Sabah: I would like to reply to this correspondent by saying that the whole world knew about the concentration of Iraqi troops along the Iraq-Kuwait borders. We informed some Arab leaders who visited Baghdad and met Saddam Husayn on several occasions, and they raised the issue with Saddam Husayn. They came to Kuwait from Baghdad and met his highness the amir, and I attended these meetings. They told his highness that they discussed with Saddam the issue regarding the concentration of his forces, and he assured them that he had no plan or intention to invade Kuwait at all. He gave them his word on this. Obviously, we believed that. They told us: Rest assured we came from Baghdad, where we asked Saddam Husayn several times, and he assured us of his intention. We in Kuwait believed that. Saddam Husayn betrayed us by attacking and invading us. We never imagined that any difference between the two countries could have led to this invasion.

Correspondent: Was it possible to avoid war? If so, what was Saddam Husayn's price?

Al-Sabah: He asked for huge sums of money. To start with, we said that we should discuss the matter with Arab brothers, because we did not believe Iraq's claims. Nevertheless, he insisted on restricting the discussion to a bilateral level. Then, following a blessed mediation by King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, custodian of the two holy mosques, and President Husni Mubarak, an agreement was reached to meet in Jeddah. I led the Kuwaiti delegation, while 'Izzat Ibrahim headed the Iraqi delegation. I tried extremely hard to find a solution. It was agreed in the end that that meeting would be the first, to be followed by a second meeting in Baghdad, and a third

one in Kuwait. We welcomed that formula, hoping that the problem could be solved peacefully. However, a few hours following our return to Kuwait, the defense minister informed me that the Iraqi forces had crossed the borders.

Correspondent: After this bitter experience, is there any possibility for reconciliation with Iraq?

Al-Sabah: It is difficult to answer this correspondent now. However, if you went out to the street and asked any Kuwaiti, I do not think that anybody would accept that now.

Correspondent: Do you want Saddam dead or stripped of power?

Al-Sabah: We are not intervening on his future for it is up to the Iraqi people to decide on its type of leadership.

Correspondent: Is it true that Kuwait put a price on his head?

Al-Sabah: There are many stories circulating around the world. However, as I said, we leave his fate to his people.

Correspondent: After the invasion and the war, the world referred to him as Hitler, and some called him a madman. You know him well. Exactly what kind of a man is he?

Al-Sabah: It is difficult to find a description of the nature of an evil one. All that I can say is that he is a man who cannot be trusted.

Correspondent: It is thought that the commanders of the Soviet Red Army asked President Gorbachev to request U.S. President Bush to preserve Saddam's life. What is your comment on that?

Al-Sabah: I know nothing of that.

Correspondent: What results have you reached on the Kuwaiti prisoners, especially after Iraq announced that it agreed to release them. Has agreement been reached in this regard?

Al-Sabah: We gave the International Committee of the Red Cross a list of the numbers and names of the Kuwaiti prisoners, who number about 1,800 persons. I sent a copy to the Arab League and another to some heads of state. We are still waiting for Iraq to take any steps. We hear them these days saying that they released all the Kuwaiti prisoners, but they are liars.

Correspondent: Kuwait needs some kind of a defense agreement with the United States. When will such an agreement be signed?

Al-Sabah: Yes, we talked with the U.S. Administration about some kind of a defense agreement. Initially, there is an agreement to sign a treaty between the two countries, and I believe that an agreement will be signed in the next few days.

Correspondent: Will there be a base? If so, where?

Al-Sabah: I do not prefer the word base; however, it is a cooperation agreement between two friendly countries.

Correspondent: Are you concerned about the presence of foreign forces on your territory? Are there any plans for the unification of the GCC political and military resources to offer the region self-protection?

Al-Sabah: We are not concerned about the presence of foreign forces. At the same time, we are cooperating with our brethren who will be leaving their forces in Kuwait for the foreseeable future.

Correspondent: Therefore, is there the possibility of an inter-Arab and Gulf cooperation agreement in this field?

Al-Sabah: Yes.

Correspondent: Iraqi soldiers arrived on the Kuwaiti island of Bubiyan to collect a number of Silkworm missiles which they hid there. Will such an incident, in addition to Saddam's methods of deception to mislead the United Nations and keep his nuclear weapons hidden, lead to another "Desert Storm" operation to finish off Iraq's dictator?

Al-Sabah: I cannot answer such a question for others.

Correspondent: Has Washington contacted you on this matter?

Al-Sabah: No. The world has heard about the Iraqi attempt to enter Bubiyan Island and a number of places in the Kuwaiti inland. Thanks be to God our forces were quick in catching them.

Correspondent: What did they want?

Al-Sabah: Some said they were looking for weapons and equipment and that the Iraqi authorities had given them money for this purpose.

Correspondent: It is clear that Saddam Husayn cannot be trusted?

Al-Sabah: Yes.

Correspondent: In the past, His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah refused to approve the death sentences passed against those who plotted to assassinate his highness. Would such leniency be applied to the Palestinians accused of cooperating with the Iraqi forces?

Al-Sabah: This matter is not restricted to the Palestinians alone. We have information on the cooperation of others from various nationalities with Iraqi forces during the occupation. It is the police's duty to pursue these people irrespective of their nationalities. If the police have information on the cooperation of anybody with the Iraqis, they will be arrested and brought before the court.

Correspondent: Before the war, Kuwait used to provide generous material and moral support for the Palestinian cause. However, following Yasir 'Arafat's choice to support Saddam in his invasion of Kuwait, what would be your relations with the PLO? Could these relations be reconciled?

Al-Sabah: It is no secret that we supported the Palestinian people in the past. We will keep on assisting them irrespective of 'Arafat's stance. Our position has nothing to do with 'Arafat or the PLO.

Correspondent: Is it true that you personally saved the life of Yasir 'Arafat and evacuated him safely from Jordan during the attack of the Jordanian Army against the Palestinians in July 1970?

Al-Sabah: Ask 'Arafat.

Correspondent: How about relations with Jordan following King Husayn's position during the crisis?

Al-Sabah: Likewise, I hope that one day you will be able to meet him and ask him this question.

Correspondent: Is it possible to reach a peace agreement (?between Israel) and the Arabs following the relaxed situation in the Gulf?

Al-Sabah: Yes, but on certain specific conditions. Israel should accept UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and embark on negotiations within the peace conference under an international umbrella.

Correspondent: In the past, you supported Iraq (?against) Iran. Does Iran still worry you?

Al-Sabah: Our present relations with Iran are good. We aim to strengthen those relations.

Correspondent: Does that mean that relations between Iran and the GCC states will develop?

Al-Sabah: Yes, for the better.

Correspondent: Has Iraq begun to return the gold and other stolen goods it took from Kuwait? Do you hope to recover them all?

Al-Sabah: As you know, the Security Council passed Resolution 687, which stipulates that Saddam Husayn return all stolen items from the Kuwaiti people and Government. Saddam must implement that and return every piece he stole from Kuwait.

Correspondent: Is there a given time period or a provisional budget for reconstructing Kuwait?

Al-Sabah: Reconstruction will cost us billions of dollars.

Correspondent: Is the damage greater than you expected?

Al-Sabah: Yes, and no doubt you saw for yourselves the fires at the oil fields.

Correspondent: What criteria did you use in concluding the contracts for Kuwait's reconstruction? Is there a priority for the states which helped in Kuwait's liberation? What is Italy's status?

Al-Sabah: Italy is a friendly country. Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti visited Kuwait three months ago, and we held fruitful and very constructive talks. I think we should welcome Italian companies and institutions to participate in Kuwait's reconstruction and rebuilding; the doors are open to them.

Correspondent: How many oil wells have been brought under control? How much time is needed for capping all the wells?

Al-Sabah: A total of 413 wells have been brought under control as of yesterday.

Correspondent: If work continues at this rate, would capping all oil wells take a further six months?

Al-Sabah: We are trying to have them capped before this deadline.

Correspondent: Will your oil policy change?

Al-Sabah: No. We hope to be able to increase our production soon.

Correspondent: Freedom of the press and restoration of the National Assembly are considered important demands. Are you prepared to adopt these steps?

Al-Sabah: General elections to choose National Assembly members will take place in October 1992 in accordance with the undertaking of his highness the amir of the country. We will do what we believe is in the interest of the present, as well as the future of the people and the homeland.

Correspondent: Following their withdrawal, the Iraqi forces left behind huge quantities of weapons. How do you control such a dangerous situation in a safe country like Kuwait?

Al-Sabah: I know what you mean. It is true that the Iraqi soldiers left a huge quantity of ammunition, arms, and military equipment. However, I believe that in the near future we will be able to solve this problem.

Correspondent: The Kuwaiti woman played a big role through her contribution to the resistance and struggle against the Iraqi aggression, from inside and outside Kuwait. Is there any intention of granting the Kuwaiti woman the right to vote?

Al-Sabah: The National Council members discussed this issue a few days ago, and they will look into it again. It is quite possible that they will be able to reach a decision.

Correspondent: What is your personal opinion? Are you for or against granting the woman the right to vote in the elections?

Al-Sabah: Everybody knows my position. I support that.

'Full Text' of Shaykh Sa'd Speech at Council

LD1609140591 London KUNA in Arabic 0943 GMT
16 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Kuwait City, 16 Sep (KUNA)—Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the heir apparent and prime minister, stressed that the process of rebuilding what the Iraqi occupation regime destroyed is not limited to the restoration of buildings and reparation of installations, but what is more important than this is the building of the new Kuwaiti man. His highness said in his opening speech to the new session of the Supreme Planning Council today: "The new Kuwaiti citizen proved during the ordeal that he can face up to his responsibilities and that he is trustworthy." He pointed out that the treacherous enemy is persisting "in its deceit, prevarications, and procrastination, seeking to evade the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution relating to the release of our sons, the prisoners and detainees."

His Highness Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah stressed that the Kuwaiti Government will do all it can to secure their release and safe return to the homeland. He also pointed out to the continuing use of "deception and prevarication" by the tyrannical Iraqi enemy "to obstruct the mission of the UN committee in charge of drawing the borders between Kuwait and Iraq in accordance with UNSC [UN Security Council] Resolution 687.

On the other hand, the heir apparent and prime minister stressed that ensuring the internal and external security of Kuwait and the safety and tranquillity of the citizens will be at the top of the government's priorities. He said: "As the composition of the population is one of the most important elements that control the rebuilding process, achieving the desired composition "is a vital matter in light of the national objectives and plans". His highness also attached great importance to "reviewing educational, teaching, information, and social policies," with a view to ensuring "the continuity and consolidation of this marvelous performance by the people of Kuwait." His highness warned also against "the alien phenomena pervading our society and the strange tendencies" brought about by the treacherous aggression, and he called [on the Kuwaitis] to be aware of these phenomena, and to hurry in dealing with them so as to avert their consequences.

Here is the full text of the speech by Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah today at the opening of the new session of the Supreme Planning Council:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Prayers and peace be on our master Muhammad, the last prophet and most honorable messenger. Distinguished brother members of the Supreme Planning Council. [passage omitted]

Now, brothers, we have before us the mission of building and reconstruction and repairing the ruin and destruction inflicted by the criminal aggressor on the facilities and installations of our infrastructure and national institutions.

As you know, the emergency plan, drawn up before the liberation, had its circumstances and surrounding conditions. Its implementation after liberation achieved positive results. Since the first days of liberation the government provided foodstuffs, basic goods, and water; electricity; and health services for the clinics and hospitals.

The government was able to gradually restore normality to life in the various parts of the country through continuous action and unrelenting efforts during the past six months. The schools and colleges opened their doors for a new academic year. Our children, the students, resumed their studies. Public services started operating again in all regions, including transport, communications, post, telegraph, telephone, the international airport, and the two ports of al-Shuyakh and al-Shu'aybah. The production and export of oil and the operation of al-Ahmadi refinery resumed.

The efforts continue to remove the mines and explosives planted by the forces of evil everywhere in our country. Relentless efforts continue to put out the fires ignited by the hands of malice in our oil wells. With God's help, so far we have been able to control 430 wells. Today normal movement has been restored to the various parts of the country. Activity and vitality were restored to the majority of institutions, markets, and shops. These achievements have been accomplished in record time and smoothly and easily without exposing the country or citizens to any extraordinary measures or conditions.

Dear brothers: We triumphed over the evil aggressor and he left our land defeated, rebuked, and ostracized and today we must complete the victory and follow it up in the security, political, economic, media, and social fields. We must also foil his evil plans against our country and society and remove the traces of his odious aggression from our homes and minds. [passage omitted]

I seize this opportunity to praise the important studies and research carried out by the Supreme Planning Council and the numerous achievements it has realized for the good and progress of Kuwait. Today, the council bears a special responsibility in planning the country's reconstruction in addition to planning the completion of the desired social and economic development of our society and country in this crucial fateful phase of the march of our beloved homeland. Securing the homeland's internal and external security and guaranteeing the safety and tranquillity of the citizens is at the top of our priorities and the rest of the programs and plans revolve around this central point. For the sake of this there should be no room for indifference, carelessness, and negligence; and the cooperation of all the citizens and their positive participation in the preservation of the

homeland's security and stability is a fundamental matter which we must endeavor to achieve and develop with a view to consolidating the social cohesion, deepening the meaning of belonging to the homeland and the meaning of the joint responsibility shared between the citizens and their institutions. [passage omitted]

Naturally, the council will continue to show the utmost interest in reviving the national economy and strengthening its vitality and efficacy so that its dynamism and its usual force can be restored. The government was anxious to associate the private sector in the execution of the reconstruction projects to make the Kuwaiti citizens benefit from these projects. The government is also completing detailed studies on the issue of compensation in view of its close link with the economic situation in the country. There is no doubt that the implementation of the solution adopted by the cabinet recently to the difficult problem of debts for the banks and the national investment companies will have a positive impact on the domestic economic activity.

Honorable brothers: The sinful aggression left wounds in ourselves that are hard to heal and sorrows the memory of which will take long to fade. This should be taken into consideration and work should be done to treat these wounds and sorrows. In the first place we must care for the families of our dutiful martyrs who offered their lives in sacrifice for our mother Kuwait and in defense of our chaste land. They will have our pride and reverence and their memory will be everlasting. They have a right on us to sustain and care for their families as far as we can.

The treacherous aggression also produced some alien phenomena and strange tendencies within our folk. We must be aware of these negative consequences and make haste to treat them and avert their ramifications on our society which has always been an example of tolerance, accord, coexistence, and understanding.

These, honorable brothers, are the main tasks and issues which the Supreme Planning Council will confront at the present stage. They are, as you can see, of great influence on our homeland and society at the present and in the future. Brothers, I know that the responsibility is great, but the confidence in you is greater. The burden is heavy, but you are, God willing, capable of shouldering it. [passage omitted]

Amir Leaves 18 Sep on Mideast, U.S. Tour

LD1809095991 London KUNA in Arabic 0920 GMT
18 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Salalah, 18 Sep (KUNA)—His highness the amir, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, has arrived in the fraternal Sultanate of Oman on a visit to his brother Sultan, Qabus Bin Sa'id, sultan of Oman. [passage omitted]

The Sultanate of Oman is the first leg of the amir's tour, and it will be followed by visits to Egypt, Syria, and the United States.

The amir left Kuwait at 0800 today. [passage omitted]

National Council Group Departs for Strasbourg

LD1509235991 London KUNA in Arabic 1258 GMT
15 Sep 91

[Text] Kuwait, 15 Sep—The Kuwait National Council delegation left here today to attend meetings of the Parliamentary Conference of Democracies which will begin its work in Strasbourg tomorrow and last for three days.

The delegation consists of Council members Dr. 'Abdallah 'Umar al-'Umar, Jasim Muhammad Qabarzad, Burak al-Nun, and the delegation's secretary Mudahi al-'Ardi.

In a statement to KUNA before departure, al-Nun said that the delegation will be attending the meetings as an observer and will insure the raising of the human issues affecting the Kuwaiti people. It will also call on the international parliaments to join in the world campaign to pressure Iraq into releasing the Kuwaiti POWs.

He added that the delegation was attending the meetings in order to assert Kuwait's popular role in international conferences.

The Kuwaiti delegation will also attend the talks which will be held between the Arab Parliamentary Union and the European Parliament in Brussels 18-20 September.

The delegation was seen off by the speaker of the National Council, 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Misa'id, and a number of Council officials.

Oman

Foreign Minister Views Arab-Iranian Relations

JN1309153391 Muscat Radio Oman Network in Arabic
1300 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Text] His Excellency Yusuf Bin-'Alawi Bin-'Abdallah, minister of state for foreign affairs, and his delegation returned to the country at noon today from Tehran at the end of a two-day visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. He delivered a message from His Majesty Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id to His Excellency President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

Before leaving Tehran, his excellency said in a statement to reporters that the message from his majesty the sultan to his excellency the Iranian president dealt with Sultan Qabus' viewpoint on the situation in the region, with emphasis on the importance of cooperation between the sultanate and the Islamic Republic of Iran, and consultations concerning solidarity among Islamic countries during the next stage.

His excellency stressed that there is a full agreement of viewpoints and that he found that the Islamic republic,

especially His Excellency President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, is concerned with developing solidarity among the Islamic countries, particularly with neighboring states.

In response to a question on the security arrangements which were adopted in international Resolution 598, especially Article 8, and the negotiations held between the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] on the one hand, and Egypt and Syria on the other, his excellency said that the principle of security in our region has precedence over all other issues. He pointed out that, in this respect, a big stride was made in terms of understanding the importance of future security arrangements, which are based on the development and consolidation of confidence among the countries of the Gulf region to create atmospheres that help implement some of the articles of the Security Council resolution. Today we are experiencing better circumstances.

The minister of state for foreign affairs referred to the fact that there is an important agreement between the Arab Gulf states and Iran on the significance of cooperation in the field of maintaining security and stability in this region, and also understanding what the UN secretary general can do toward implementing Article 8 of Resolution 598 on the Iraq-Iran war, pointing out that the UN secretary general is currently making consultations with the concerned parties, including the GCC states.

His excellency stressed that the Damascus declaration draft is proceeding on its course within the Arab framework as the declaration has stipulated, and many of its aspects deal with the collective Arab action and consolidating bilateral relations among the eight states, and there is no contradiction that can influence the constant, the required, and the necessary cooperation between Iran and the Gulf states, based on the fact that they have real interests that should be worked out in a positive and strong manner so as to guarantee security and stability. In that regard he said that it is impossible to realize security between Gulf states and Iran unless there are strong bases for cooperation between the GCC states and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

On relations between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Islamic Republic of Iran, His Excellency Yusuf Bin-'Alawi Bin-'Abdallah said that he had heard very beneficial views from his excellency the Iranian president, and Iran is eager to have solidarity with the Islamic countries and is willing to have normal relations. Egypt and Iran are two of the biggest Islamic countries and we believe that relations between them can be developed in the interests of both peoples.

Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad 'Ali Besharati, who saw Yusuf Bin-'Alawi Bin-'Abdallah off upon his departure, emphasized the strength of bilateral relations and said that there are constant consultations between the two countries and a joint understanding in all political, economic, technical, cultural, and other sectors.

Besharati voiced gratitude to the Sultanate Government for the wide efforts in the field of developing bilateral relations, and the relations between Iran on the one hand, and the Arab states and countries of the region on the other.

Qatar

Report of Arms Deal With South Africa Denied

JN1609122891 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1115 GMT
16 Sep 91

[Text] Doha, 16 Sep (WAKH)—The State of Qatar denied a recent REUTER report about its efforts to obtain military equipment from South Africa.

A Qatari official source said in a statement to the QATARI NEWS AGENCY that there is no truth in this report.

Yemen

President Salih Receives Bush Letter on Ties

JN1709182991 Sanaa Yemeni Republic Radio
Network in Arabic 1700 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Brother Lieutenant General 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, chairman of the Presidential Council, has received a written message from U.S. President George Bush concerning relations between the United States and the Republic of Yemen.

Ba'th Party Congress Political Statement

JN1609174391 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio
First Program Network in Arabic 1600 GMT 16 Sep 91

["Political statement" issued by the 10th Regional Congress of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The 10th regional congress met on 12 and 13 September 1991. In attendance were 261 members out of 266, representing the largest attendance the regional congress has achieved in the history of the party in Iraq. Also attending the meeting were the assistant secretary general of the National Command of the party and members of the National Command present in Baghdad.

In keeping with party tradition, the opening session was chaired by comrade leader Saddam Husayn, secretary of the regional command. At the beginning of the session, the comrade leader asked the comrades to stand and read the opening verse of the Koran for the souls of the martyrs of the party, the people, and the Arab nation. The comrade leader then began delivering his historic and comprehensive speech. The comrade leader said:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

Comrade members of the congress: May the peace of God be upon you. In one of the years of the second glorious Qadisiyah, specifically 1982, the propaganda, will, and stands of the infidel West, with its line and policies hostile to humanity and our nation, was assaulting the minds of those who had been wearied by the long battle. Zionism was promising the impending collapse of our front to promote the presumed and promised dream cherished jointly by the Western imperialists and criminal, oppressive Zionism. Rather than cling to transient means limited to the internal life of the party, the voice of principles came forth from the hearts of the believers to return to the fundamental law of our party's internal life—free elections as a key to choosing leaders. It was under these circumstances that the ninth regional congress of the party was held. After the characteristics of the post-congress era and the additional conditions needed in leadership became clear to the grass-roots strugglers, the comrades chose their leadership for struggling Iraq guided by these rules. And rather than collapse, as our enemies had anticipated, including even those who were called friends, the honorable rallied in the epic of eastern al-Basra and defeated the forces of aggression in five successive battles in glorious July 1982.

Since then, developments took a different turn, as was noted by international observers, until the showdown ended six years later in a manifest victory on the Day of Days, 8 August 1988.

Today, comrades, your time-honored congress convenes, not prior to the confrontation in the Mother of Battles but on this day, and after the command has unambiguously revealed its conditions to pursue construction and jihad under the circumstances you know well. The congress convenes while we are observing and grasping the

circumstances, developments, and stands in relation to all that has happened to us since the criminals of the hateful 30-state alliance fired the first shell on Baghdad—which is great with its glory and people—and up until our present day. We take everything into consideration, and we realize that the kind of immunity required this time is linked in its characteristics and limits to an understanding of the means of the international enemies to fight our people and nation and the message we are propagating. Since it was first created, our party has asked and called for this kind of immunity; it is the immunity of absolute faith in the principles as they are: Unity, Freedom, and Socialism.

It is the faith that the part of our great Arab homeland ruled by our party is the basis of struggle and jihad for the principles of the Arab nation and for achieving the other objectives of struggle in that part of the homeland and throughout the entire Arab nation. Any amendment or change mandated by the circumstances of the march must not affect the objectives; it must be confined to the methods. It also must not depart from the rule that "God does not request one to do more than he can." No doubt, God Almighty knows how to judge people's capacity and strength. This certainty, however, does not contradict our saying that the capacity of the genuine Ba'thist is constantly moving upward, given the comprehensiveness and depth of the faith of those who always seek what is higher and better.

We believe that socialism is social justice derived from the conduct of the early Muslim Arabs, taking into account the characteristics of every phase of history and the requirements of its course. Whatever practical and constitutional form it takes, Arab unity transcends the sum of the resources of the united countries for realizing a moral, spiritual, and practical result based on the interaction among the material, human, cultural, and spiritual resources of these countries to realize great things.

Poor and low-income people are the focus of our interests in all cases and in every phase. Equal opportunity, if brought about from the outset, is not enough to establish a society ruled by social justice, because the subsequent opportunities for everyone in the society that we now lead do not necessarily open or close equally. Permanent control is required to preserve the balance. In addition to economic, administrative, political, social, and cultural measures—the brainchild of the creative Ba'thists and Iraqi people—this balance can be effected by the way public funds are expended and the opening or closing of opportunities through central decisions.

If we choose someone for a leading position, we must be certain that our choice is correct and principled. We must review the history of every comrade from the time we first knew him, how he changed, whether the change increased his adherence to the principles that we have just briefly outlined or whether he has been distanced from them, how he acted toward the militant values, be they under difficult or normal circumstances; how his

ties with the strugglers were; how his thoughts were transformed under the pressure of events; and how his alternatives in life were on all levels, including his friends and colleagues. Last but not least, we should know his position and faith in the Mother of Battles, particularly during the most complicated chapter of this battle, the chapter of treason and treachery that was prepared by the abominable 30-state alliance in coordination with plotting Iran and in cooperation with those who allied with traitors and deviationists from the mobs who were misguided after God made them blind.

When you have made your bold decision without fear, it will be the same type of choice you made in 1982. I do not mean in terms of persons, but in terms of the spirit of the decision and the basic conditions of that phase. Thus, in addition to the crown of glory you acquired from your march in the Mother of Battles, you will have a crown of faith and ability that will conclude this phase with a decisive victory in all matters acceptable to God and his pious worshippers.

The comrade leader said: O comrades: It is difficult for us today to review all the lessons and analyses from a stage of struggle that is rich with lessons and new phenomena, extending from 1982, when the armies of Iranian aggression were preparing a victory parade to celebrate what their baser selves wished—to occupy the city of cities, the genuine Arab city of al-Basrah. Between those days and today, which is part of the great historic confrontation of the Mother of Battles, it is difficult for us to summarize all that happened in the few days of a week that at this time is full of activities, whose importance, dimensions, and militant preoccupations you are aware of. It is also hard for you to listen to all that you wish when reviewing what we have tackled or what detailed evidence there is of new lessons. Our excuse is that we have what can fill that gap.

We have dealt with each case, derived useful lessons, adopted from these lessons all that the leadership found stable and could be built on, and tackled all that we deemed necessary. All the comrades in the congress, or most of them, have acquainted themselves with all of this, or most of it. We learned that the circumstances do not allow a detailed report as was the case at our 1982 congress. I found myself dutybound to say what would be useful to the comrades in their struggle, great jihad, and lofty construction. We hope that this speech, along with the documents distributed to the congress, which have been previously approved by the leadership, will fill part of the gap that is usually left by the absence of a central report explaining the past and proceeding toward the future in accordance with the party's traditions.

The years from 1982 to 1991 have been years of great jihad and construction on all levels. Those years, their circumstances, and activities, have also been a new characteristic in the party's life and the revolution's march. It was a situation in which the Iraqi citizen was tested by the principles of the Ba'th Party, and the principles of the Ba'th Party have been put to a difficult

and unique test. All those who tested us in the al-Qadisiyah battle and the Mother of Battles, and all the overt and covert actions of the enemies of the nation and humanity, have been devoid of human conscience and feelings. They have indulged in their falsehoods to a point where God has blinded their hearts, and thus they have all been unjust both in their slogans and actions.

The struggle went hand in hand with construction in a capacity that can only be explained in terms of faith in the care of God Almighty. When the enemies were out to demolish the Iraqi individual, lead him from his convictions, and destroy his material and civilized structure, this individual emerged from the battle under the banner of Saddam's glorious al-Qadisiyah with an enhanced faith and capability, consolidated principles, and a more optimistic outlook.

In the Mother of Battles the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party faced an indescribable and unanticipated state, and yet the structure should soar still higher. The faithful Ba'thists, with the people rallying behind their leadership, will prove that they will be victorious. The process of building the individual and his faith, for all of what had befallen him and causes us pain, will produce an impressive structure, and will also prove that, overall, his faith is part of his resolve to press onward.

Although we have sought not to burden you with too much detail, we have included what is necessary. We leave you to debate the statement, the documents before you, the questions that you put forward, and the definite answers to them to enrich what we have already said and what we are going to say in our deliberations at this congress.

Comrades: In this new world, humanity is facing dangers and the challenges of construction and international relations at a time when the scales are tipping in favor of the material and against the spiritual, particularly in the West. The scales are tipping in favor of wrong against right, practical against principled, the present against the future. In this new world, the means of communication are constantly spreading and improving. The means of transportation are making headway. The interests of different nations are becoming intertwined. The interests and fates of rulers around the world are also becoming intertwined. In this kind of world, the national and humanitarian elements present the best image of the conviction that genuine values represent facts that cannot be suppressed, particularly when the infidel internationalism of the West is emerging from the ruins of the internationalism of atheistic Marxism exported to Russia from the West, which was the sum of the contradictions the West was experiencing at that time.

Under these international and national circumstances, it is impossible to address any of the aspects we have mentioned theoretically and practically in a fashion pleasing to the mind without reviewing the whole when dealing with its parts, and invoking pan-Arab aspects

when addressing national aspects, and looking to the future as we cope with the present.

You will find, therefore, that I will review some matters in conjunction with others for the reasons I have just explained, without relying on the academic or conventional approach.

Words—like people—derive their historical weight and role from their effects and the kind of resolutions they produce. We will give precedence to what concerns us most as a people and a nation at this stage.

Addressing the congress members, the comrade leader then went on to say: The staging of the Mother of Battles and all that is linked to it on the Arab and international levels has been, and still is, the major point of our attention. When I speak about the Mother of Battles, I mean it with all its comprehensiveness.

Under the present international circumstances, particularly following the developments in the Soviet Union, we should ask an important question: Has capitalism won after the failure of communism in the Soviet Union and other countries?

While answering this question, we should invoke some historical facts and say that the communism that relies on Marxism was first born in the capitalist West. Its birth reflected the contradictions in the West at the time. These contradictions triggered two world wars in the 20th century alone, in addition to wars among European states in the 19th century.

But once the Soviet Union—the pseudo-Eastern state—and then the PRC, embraced communism, the conflict was depicted as though it were between an Eastern creed—communism—and a Western creed—capitalism. It is a wrong depiction because the truth of the matter is that the substance of the conflict is primarily between two Western creeds. The collapse of one of them, therefore, does not necessarily mean a final victory for the other.

We think that the collapse of communism will once again transfer the conflict directly to the ranks of the West on the one hand, without ending the conflict between East and West on the other. Consider, for example, the conflict of the West with nationalist and humanitarian countries, and trends in the Middle East and the Arab homeland, and its conflict with the more advanced and effective Eastern countries in the field of international trade and technological progress.

This will show that the political opportunity, which the Soviet Union used to provide to the Arab struggle, will be provided by other circumstances, including new international circumstances that are more balanced than the current state of affairs in the world.

We add that linking the Arab struggle with Soviet policy and communist doctrine was wrong and imposed a kind of intellectual and political confusion, and a kind of conflict within national ranks. With its collapse, the

national and pan-Arab ranks will become more cohesive and more united if they are allowed a better development opportunity.

After we answer this question, we will raise another: Has the United States, after leading the coalition against Iraq in a Third World warlike action, become stronger and more influential in the world and the region? To answer this question, we should answer another specific question: What was the U.S. position and what were its qualities as a superpower before it led the coalition against Iraq?

Before the aggression against Iraq, the United States was the strongest superpower in the world, by big powers' standards known to the world at present, and in material power measured by armies, military power, technological progress, and political influence. Compared to economically prosperous states, however, economic development and performance, and concern about work in the United States have lagged behind those of Germany and Japan, for example, and the United States has continued to face a soaring deficit in its domestic budget and its balance of trade. In addition, the amount of oil produced within its national borders has begun to drop and its need for importing oil from abroad, especially from our region, has begun to increase. Therefore, the United States, compared with the Soviet Union, a state that was a superpower and that the United States faced as an equal, was the strongest and greatest, including its power represented in its citizens' adherence to the capitalist doctrine and their capitalist system. Its structure had some grave loopholes on all levels, however, and there was no clear way to deal with it to shore up those weak points.

The course of the conflict and the Soviet Union's submission to U.S. desires and pressures have exposed the Soviet Union's major weakness. At the same time, however, and as we have said earlier and first predicted in our speech at the Arab Cooperation Council's summit in Amman in February 1990, the force generated by the conflict between the two superpowers maintained an important aspect of the balance, not only in relation to the world but also at the level of the stability of the two parties competing to occupy the summit. Therefore, whenever any of the two collapses or escapes the field of gravity of the conflict at all levels, the other will also lose its balance and fall down.

In addition, the hastiness and impatience that characterized the arrangements of America and its agents and stooges in the aggression against Iraq and their stupid behavior—which caused fears and anticipation on the part of many—are among the things that will contribute to weakening U.S. unilateralism. Above all, there is the fact that the one who occupies the summit alone, and starts his era of unilateralism by revealing his stupidities instead of having recourse to wisdom and its means, will soon fall from the summit.

U.S. unilateralism culminated in stupidity, aggression, killing, oppression, and the return to old colonialist methods. That it why it did not stay atop the summit after the aggression, even for a single day. The status of the United States immediately declined in accordance with moral and spiritual, and even material, measures. As for the degree of this decline and its effect on the overall result when the collapse becomes complete, this will be determined in the future. History will record, however, that this decline was the basic and decisive factor that made the United States maintain its position on the summit—in its material aspect and not, of course, its spiritual and cultural aspects—for a very brief duration.

The U.S. Administration has tried to remedy, in a partial and temporary manner, some of its economic crises by way of imposing fees on its partners in the aggression against Iraq, and on others, by selling some surplus arms. The U.S. Administration thought that the best way to secure its oil flow was to conclude declared and undeclared military and security agreements. Such anesthetic measures, however, might be another way of illusion that blurs clear vision and leads to one's death, or fall into a well covered by the grass of a fake spring.

The political and economic pressures that made the United States depart from the course and norms of deals that guarantee the minimum level of decency between it and other known countries—a departure accelerated by the need to implement the conspiracy against Iraq—has opened the eyes of people and officials in frontline countries, as well as those in positions of injustice and in the rear, to facts that they would have needed a long time to see under other circumstances.

The monopoly over the booty of the so-called petroleum reconstructions and interests have strengthened the fear and worry about this monopoly and its results in Western and Eastern countries equally.

The aggression against Iraq and the swift collapse of the Soviet Union and its departure from the position of balance with the United States did not crown the United States as the unrivaled leader of the world. It has, rather, accelerated its decline.

The situation in the Arab homeland, and as we said before, what was most harmful to our national and pan-Arab struggle for us Arabs, was the overlapping of nationalist and non-nationalist Arab rulers. For known reasons, this overlapping extended to the level of the media and culture in recent years, and even to parts of political activities by certain governments and political movements until the negative talk about the United States and its danger and the danger of its policy in the Arab world recently began to fall on deaf ears and be unheeded.

In the Mother of Battles—and in light of its slogans that were immersed in the mujahid, pure blood—a separation came about, one objective and natural. The examples of treachery, made by the models of treachery,

became exposed and without any veil. The standards for true nationalism, sincere faith, faithful pan-Arabism, and the slogans of struggle, the nation's rights, and taking care of its wealth and directing it in the favor of the people and the poor of the nation in particular, became standards that did not overlap with the one-upmanship of the suspect, the unserious, and the unfaithful.

The United States has absolutely not won on the basis of conviction a single nationalist faithful regime in the Arab world or in any other Third World country. It has, rather, lost other regimes when it exposed their roles and the roles played by their figures, when it mobilized its reserves and the reserves of its intelligence service, and when the path of confrontation and the prerequisites for victory became clearer than before.

While appearing to score a kind of victory against their enemies from the superficial, technical standpoint and by exercising economic, political, and intelligence pressure on some Arab political national forces, the United States and its allies in the long run and in the historical results and principled historic struggle, are the losers. The pan-Arab [qawmi] struggle, even the human struggle, will ultimately emerge victorious. The United States and its allies will certainly lose, God willing.

Addressing the congress, the comrade leader said: The stage where our party leads the struggle of the masses has new characteristics. Among them is expanding democratic work. Thus, we must answer the following question: How can the imperialist West, particularly the United States, infiltrate media, culture, and parliaments?

We all know that the West's democracy is primarily an arena that promotes the minority's influence, even if the role of the majority is played by the voters. This is because through its influence and methods, and by its material, economic, and propaganda resources, this minority is capable of making its representatives the strongest candidates and the most favored to win elections. Based on this, the exploiting West endeavors to make Third World countries copy its experiment in practicing democracy.

The cultural and information institutions follow the example of the parliamentary institutions. The so-called free press, as claimed by the Western method which is based on personal property, can also be under the hegemony and guidance of capitalists and big interests, if not based from the outset on capitalist planning methods, which make profit the central aim, realized by increasing sales and helping the influential establishments and companies under a propaganda cover. When media technology became complicated, including that of the press, and the funds to establish media organs become enormous, a single person cannot carry out such a project unless he has big investments or unless he is supported by covert sides that have vested interests in the cultural and media establishment, including printed material.

This is why the West, to control the destinies of the Third World countries in accordance with conditions of the modern age, is concerned about giving them the so-called law of markets based on supply and demand, which gives free and unrestricted rein, regardless of public interests. Thus, it guarantees subservience to the minority that controls the economy and money through the interrelation of personal interests, their theory of international interests, and the freedom to own media institutions. Since the owning of media institutions will not be popular as in the Western way, these institutions will also be under the control of the market, in one way or another.

The journalist, the writer, and the lecturer, in the cultural field, will be forced to appease the owner to allow him to publish or speak, for otherwise he cannot earn a living. Because the West basically relies on money and media as two basic pillars determining the results of parliamentary elections, and even presidential elections, the role of these three links will be interrelated. And because the Third World countries, the way they are, cannot compete with the Western states, they will also become subservient to these states culturally, in addition to economically, and these links will control them in favor of the West and its influence. This will practically neutralize national will and eliminate its traces, even if some Third World countries appear as though they were independent.

All this and other issues will be before the future leadership when it assumes its responsibilities in the new democratic atmosphere, and when it prepares for the next congress that will discuss these issues and all the issues that are not settled by this congress.

Based on our assessment, and so that the majority of the people, their ideas, what they believe in, and the pulse of their hot blood can be present, influential, and a supporter for our other executive organs, and so that they can, by their direct and constructive criticism, always renew our great society and bolster its vitality through its effective participation in the course of social life, and even political life in a way to give the Ba'th Party principles a chance for essential interaction and effective leadership: I suggest that the people's councils be given specific tasks based on a law regarding the assessment of and fighting against social corruption, including all that is prohibited by ethics and national security, and regarding prices in every area, in harmony with living conditions, genuine social traditions, and other issues.

So that such duties and responsibilities attract the enthusiasm and attention of the people and strengthen their awareness and sense of responsibility, I am of the view that we hold democratic elections for peoples councils, in accordance with an accurate legal arrangement and as soon as possible.

The comrade leader continued: The expansion of interests in life increases man's activity and deepens his creativity, intelligence, and social maturity. However, it

also burdens his values, his principled and ethical considerations, and the moral and spiritual ideals in which he believes or at which he pauses. Thus, when the Muslims ended the attempts at rebellion during the caliphate of Abu-Bakr, may God be pleased with him, they moved in the path of jihad as one line. However, after the rule of 'Umar Ibn-al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, Muslims referred to the Koran and Sunnah to find clear common agreement on interpretation. But they adopted different views and positions, according to the different political inclinations or because of the absence of a unified interpretation, in light of the expansion in life interests and temptations at later stages in the life of Muslims, especially after they conquered new countries, expanding the size of the Muslim state and, consequently, allowing the emergence of new interests for the people of the peninsula. There emerged various schools of thought because of various interpretations, and Muslims, consequently, became several parties instead of one. The schools produced yet other known varying branches.

Hence, we understand how the conceptions, moods, and inclinations of people can swing, changing from what they are in the beginning, or under appropriate circumstances, to what they become under what seems to be inappropriate conditions. By the same token, we also understand the conceptions and positions of some people when they contradict or diverge with the conceptions and ideas of some others, as adopted at the line of the beginning or at the appropriate circumstances, when there was deep belief in principles.

Although we are not surprised when people, or some of them, adopt positions that do not always seem in line with their past positions—because such change is dictated by evolution—we should differentiate, when we make evaluations and take positions, between certain positions demanded by the need to adjust to circumstances and the need to change methods to serve a certain situation accurately, properly, and at a minimum cost, and between positions that replace objectives by other ones, consequently meaning change in the essence and objectives of the ideology. This is how we make the distinction between renewal and its requirements and abandonment, which may reach the level of premeditated intentions to move away from the essence and objectives of the ideology.

It is, therefore, necessary for all of you to ask yourselves wholeheartedly, during and after the Mother of Battles, whether you are still a struggling, mujahid Ba'thist for the sake of the party, or just a link in the party's structural organization during a certain stage and only for certain purposes. This is how the outcome of the struggling appears, and the historic action, in all its great meanings and desirable comprehensiveness and depth, is achieved.

And despite the fact that the Ba'th is a creed of life and not a religion, because it is a believer party, and because its principles and creed were planted in the field of our

great spiritual and historical heritage, the example closest to it would be the lives of the early Muslim believers, because the Ba'th is a factor of elevating the nation, and a case of spiritual ascendance in the process of uplifting the nation. Examples that are close to it are the ones that speak of the early Islamic message and its great deeds in conquest, liberation, justice, altruism, and flexibility.

In difficult circumstances in general and during wars and threats in particular, concepts and ideas multiply and their lines of action become numerous. Unless issues are balanced and those who are responsible for guidance and balance are warned, blame and recrimination grow and responsibility is shed by those who believe that they are not gaining from the circumstances. Thus, some will revive the sick ideas and spite, which they could not justify in the past by flimsy covers and which did not stand the test of the principled, honest stands of the previous phase. Some weaklings, who are affected by the cracking edifice of thought and psychology, go so far as to look for back doors, thinking that even if this has nothing to do with principles and courage—in fact it is the opposite—they will be able to justify their escape from the overwhelming or imaginable danger. The opportunists, the spiteful, and the scheming ones might attempt an even worse course.

I say that unless those who decide to rectify the psychological, ideological, and practical deviation issue their instructions, people will lose numerous opportunities and new opportunities will be opened for their enemies, who do not represent their genuine desires.

Unless everyone—or at least the leading cadre in the society and the revolutionary movement—is cautious in times of difficult circumstances, the wrong arrow may hit the target. The frightened one may have more fear than what is necessary for him to escape danger. He will then be a hostage to fear, exactly like the goat when it gives in to the fox. But when fear turns into a leading and responsible caution, or even when fear mobilizes one's soul to face the danger effectively, in mind and body, the path of salvation—together with the supreme considerations recorded on it—is comparatively more favorable. This is more true when the things about which one must be cautious are mistakes that have taken place, or may take place, in surroundings that have chosen the path of jihad and the quality of the pioneer as an example to the people and nation. By this, I mean you comrades and your great party.

By remembering the lessons of that stage and reliving all its details, your congress has to answer many questions, if not now, then at the first opportunity in which such a congress is convened, so that these answers will become the fundamentals of our policy. This is because we believe there will be no differences over principles, but there may be different interpretations of policies. In difficult circumstances, interpretations may cover certain premeditated objectives that run contrary to the course and objectives of the ideology.

Despite the loftiness of the objectives, it would be unfair to say it is difficult to find and choose the best among them, as one may think, particularly if we compare this to finding the policies to implement and choosing the best alternatives when the main road branches into other roads.

But we must say that the principal thing to consider is not only choosing the principles and general objectives, but also choosing their paths and insisting on realizing the objectives within their correct paths. Sacrifice becomes greater and greater when the principles and general objectives turn into a serious course of action and a determination to continue such a course.

Addressing the comrade members of the congress, the comrade leader said: Since our party was established and it launched its principles from the nation's great heritage, which was rich in soul, message, historic meanings, and lessons, our nation has surpassed mankind through its creative cultural message, and successive messages came from Almighty God to give that deep and creative history its great human and great national meaning.

Your party launched its great message on the basis of these meanings. Therefore, the Ba'th is not merely a party and a pan-Arab method, but a revival and a message, or a revival of this nation's message. To place the party in its correct context is to enable it to play its cultural role anew on the basis of all the great meanings of its heritage, including its unified spiritual heritage.

Therefore, our party is not a traditional one, and is not an outcome of developments in the world and the region brought about by World War II. It is not like other movements and parties, it is a party of a great message and call. Although these meanings were clearly stated in the party's slogan: "One Arab Nation With an Immortal Message" and in the thoughts of the pioneers, foremost of them being our late great teacher Michel 'Aflaq, the Arabs have not paid much attention to these meanings in which our party differs from other parties. It also differs both in thought and mode of action.

Based on these qualities in which our party differs from other parties, its first congress in Syria in 1947 was not originally directed against the regime that ruled that Arab country at that time. The formation of our party and the convening of its first congress were not prompted by a temporary political motive; no political motive was behind the idea of the party. Moreover, the policy of the rulers in that Arab country, Syria, was not the worst among other rulers in the Arab homeland.

From this and others, it seems that the party-related aspect of our message, our call, our jihad, and all our activities are related to the need to organize and mobilize the ranks to achieve the planned goals, which the great Ba'th wanted, unlike other political parties, which were formed and shaped to achieve limited goals at a particular time.

Being the fountainhead of a message, this description and its immortal meanings necessitate adopting a distinguished pattern of behavior and determination. We have on our hands an Arab nation divided into at least 22 parts that should be united practically and spiritually despite the fact that the biggest and most influential and vicious country on earth has interests in this part of the world. The objective of unity becomes all the more demanding when it incorporates social justice and freedom and the work and values attached to them.

It is, therefore, obvious that strugglers who are not inspired by a militant and abiding spirit will not measure up to the spirit and objectives of the great Ba'th Party.

The struggle of the Ba'th Party has extended over approximately 50 years, and yet the Arab nation had to wait for the Mother of Battles before it grasped the significance of the message of the party. Through this battle the Ba'th Party measured up to its slogans. Gaining the moral high ground, the Ba'th Party managed to let the sons of our nation across the Arab homeland see this new level of struggle and jihad and genuine thought that can only be a great spiritual, civilized, and practical message.

Once the concern of a minority of Arab intellectuals and politicians, the Ba'thists have managed to generate a wider interest in the party that has spanned the Arab world from its easternmost part to its westernmost, and from its northernmost to its southernmost, thanks to its remarkable, militant posture during the Mother of Battles.

This new level that your cause achieved after your great people provided the basis for our struggle with their sacrifice and commitment requires that you, comrades, make the most of the humanitarian, practical interaction with Arab masses, and that you rise above yourselves and rise to the level of the thought, faith, and work of the carriers of the lofty great message.

Comrades: Any message that merits this great description of the Ba'th meanings should first be made familiar to others. You have familiarized your nation with your beliefs in the Mother of Battles on the largest scale possible, whereas in the past your voice used to reach only a modest portion of the sons of the nation. Or, let us say, your voice used to reach and affect a portion that was insufficient to propagate a message and revolutionize Arab life in general.

The Mother of Battles has made your voice reach all Arabs after the unjust world was entangled in the 30-state stance against you. Your voice became a pivot and an opposing voice. The Arabs, in fact all the world, listened to your voice alone, which was challenged only by the opposite, infidel, traitorous, and exploiting voice.

Since your voice should be heard as a voice of opposition so that the world could know what is the bone of contention, and despite all the lies, falsehoods, and attempts to create confusion for which Western media

and policies are known, your message has been delivered and understood in its basics and slogans that were upheld in the first confrontation, on at least the level of the Arab homeland. Your message is honorable and great, even if its slogans alone were understood.

For a call to become a sincere and popular message, moreover, its advocates must be tested. The sincerity of the advocates can be discovered only when words are matched by holding fast to one's stands and enduring the sacrifices that are commensurate with the stands, slogans, and the message and its objectives.

You have indeed held fast to your stands. You and your great people have endured a great deal for this message and its meanings, objectives, and slogans. You did not kneel when the first serious threat was launched, nor did you forget about your message and leave the scene, as insincere and dishonest people do. This is what your adversaries and enemies had wanted, or wished, to happen, so that your call and message would end and the Ba'th would be relegated from the Ba'th of the message to a mere political party, even after the fall that they, in vain, had wished and thought possible. Curse them and curse their evil prediction.

You are aware, comrades, that unity, freedom, and socialism cannot be realized by a political party alone. You are aware that the nation's joints are full of rust that have prevented the nation from realizing its message for 800 years. This rust cannot be cleared away by a political party's slogans. Neither are professional politicians able to rid the nation of centuries of slumber and dissipation.

Therefore, what should have happened has happened so that the message might take its course in both performance and sacrifice and so that the message might derive its true meaning in terms of significance and sacrifices. What remains is the last condition that any divided nation needs in order to rise up; namely, handing over leadership to a part of it which is more capable of endeavoring and struggling to realize the nation's aims.

We must say that those who launched the countercall among the Arabs, such as the rulers, and the rival political parties and movements, as well as the traitors among Arab rulers and their allies in the media and the suspect thoughts that distort facts and the malicious Western-Zionist policy that is still strong and influential in the Arab homeland—a policy that increases in strength and position whenever jealous and envious Arab rulers lend them their support—all of these will endeavor to cast doubt on your message and its faithful men in this mujahid country under all sorts of pretexts, justifications, and claims. To realize their objectives, they will exploit the difficult condition of our people that befits their great position of jihad, a price which is now necessary. The future, God willing, will open not only to the Iraqis but to the entire nation, and—during and after this—to humanity at large.

The proof of the ability of leadership, efficient performance, and skillful management will be realized through

reconstruction, raising it on all levels, thus emerging from the blockade with the least possible loss and without losing principles and their deep, sincere policies. This is now realized in the field of steadfastness despite what we have experienced. The essence of national decisionmaking remains as it is and will improve and make progress as we progress in the directions I have indicated. This is inevitable, God willing. God is great.

The comrade leader addressed his comrades at the congress, saying: Affiliation to the Ba'th Party is not a way to achieve personal gains, although some gains come later accidentally. Affiliation is also not a personal condition necessitated by a certain stage, although personal conditions and needs make the door open wide to allow the affiliated member to see the principles of the great Ba'th Party as they really are. Affiliation to the Ba'th Party, and gaining membership in it, is an ideological decision by the honest and faithful man who affiliates with our great party. Such a decision puts a man in the service of the nation and people, and not the opposite, and makes the member abide fully by the principles of the party from the very beginning until the very last moment of his life. This makes him synchronize his behavior, way of thinking, method of dealing with people, and life with the general guidelines of the party principles—unity, freedom, and socialism—or on the basis of the guidelines set by the party through its congresses and responsible leadership in a way that does not conflict with the principles of the great Ba'th Party. Based on this, every time the confrontation escalates, life becomes more difficult, enemies multiply, and supporters dwindle at difficult times, the genuine Ba'thist adheres further to his principles and the objectives of his great nation.

In light of this, we come back again to the specific question: Does our nation have any way to develop itself and play its national and pan-Arab role other than its great objectives of unity, freedom, and socialism? Your answer will be positive. Let us say that even he who is not eager to give a positive answer with a loud voice, his voice, feeling, and thinking, will not be able to help him opt for a course or a way other than this, or say this with an audible voice. Despite this, he feels that he has a great honor based on deep, not false, conviction. Based on this, we say that what we have endured as a result of our pan-Arab course in which we believe and call for must not weaken any of us. Because we have suffered for the sake of this and the socialism of the poor and the needy ones to provide them with basic needs, and for the sake of socialism for all people to provide them with dignity and better chances of living, including what should be secured in terms of moral, humanitarian, and cultural requirements that would bolster one's role and place it on a higher position in general, and for the sake of freedom which we want for the sons of our nation on the level of relations with the foreigner, and the freedom based on human rights and respecting its ideologies and choices in accordance with guidelines defined by the party and law—I say, because we have endured all these

sacrifices as a result of all this, then all this will only reinforce our conviction that our option is sound, and that truth is on our side inasmuch as the enemies of our nation fear this course.

Therefore, those who shook with fear during this show-down have lost part of their ideology. And those who failed, without any reason, to perform their party, humanitarian, and pan-Arab duties in full have abandoned part of their ideology. And those who bend to foreign pressure only to protect themselves have lost their ideology in its entirety. Those who felt tired and unable to continue because their belief in the ideology was shaken—not because of age, illness, or technical inability to carry out their duties in the field and at the right moment—have abandoned their ideology, and the ideology has nothing to do with them.

Those who do not work to come humanly closer to their comrades and to the people under the circumstances of the economic blockade and the difficulties at this stage, have their ideological claims and statements as only a formality, not a genuine policy.

To all these I say that Ba'th is a message and a world ideology. But in terms of results, it is closely bound to the sincere belief in the great God, his books, his messengers, and the day of judgment. For those who no longer believe; those who are frightened and do not find in the ideology a fortification, and in us, their comrades, the first line of defense; those who do not find in all the other Ba'thist lines of struggle, sacrifice, and steadfastness a means of backing; and those who find that Ba'th does not fulfill the ambitions they envisioned at the beginning—for all these we firmly say: Let those who want to leave the Ba'th Party do so, so that Ba'th continue as a bright lantern to our people and glorious nation.

Such a position is more honorable, or less harmful, than those peoples' attempts to adapt the Ba'th as they please, to tailor its moves to fit what they are incapable of, and to restrict it so that it can no longer absorb belief in the great principles. And we tell our comrades who stumbled along the road that the march of the Ba'th Party is great and long. We will help those who stumble now in a manner that would not weaken the faithful leadership as an indispensable model, and so that the comrades would find in the leader that which increases their belief, patience, and persistence. Apart from this, the arenas of the great Ba'th can take all knights, all virtuous people, and all those who can provide more. There are wide fields, and those at the end of the line can, if they wish, move to the front through sincere work, diligence, and belief, which are renewed by genuine sacrifices and firm march. God is great.

Glory, honor, and mercy for the martyrs of great Ba'th, our virtuous martyrs.

Glory, honor, and mercy for our comrades in arms, the martyrs of our valiant Armed Forces.

Glory, honor, and mercy for all the martyrs of our great people, the noble martyrs of the homeland, gallantry, and principles, and the martyrs of the Arab nation who defended the nation's principles, dignity, security, present, and future.

Glory, honor, and mercy for the martyrs of the Arab nation, foremost of whom are the martyrs of Palestine, may they be immortalized in paradise, God willing.

Glory, honor, and mercy for the martyrs of humanity wherever we meet on the common bridge of humanity, enjoying God's blessings.

Comrades, the soundness and the line of the ideology is not strengthened by the correctness of its axioms that cannot be shaken by theoretical dialogue, controversy, or discussion, but by the inability of the alternatives to fill the ideological vacuum. Therefore, today we find that despite all the hard tests to which the Ba'th principles and its general line were subjected and despite what passed in terms of the struggle march during and before the phase of the government, the principles and policy of the Ba'th are correct. Indeed, we find that the Ba'th principles and general policy have become symbols for every ascending change in its cultural and spiritual values which stand the test of criticism and the laws of life all over the Arab homeland, even if this takes various paths other than our direct paths and although they may come under other names.

The soundness of the great Ba'th principles and creative policy is manifested by the discovery of the fake nature of the ideologies that have spread in the world for some time only to crack and collapse or move toward collapse, as we are witnessing now. Some political ideologies grew by adopting the color of their phase and the needs of their nations. Because of their ideological enthusiasm or out of their desire to find the appropriate cover for their nationalist interests, those responsible for these ideologies imagined that these ideologies would extend to other nations and peoples other than their own. The Western bourgeoisie after the industrial revolution imagined that their theory would extend to the whole world and affect it, not only through their inventions and technological and creative advances, and not only through their hypotheses and the ideas they present within the correct human methods of affecting and being affected, but also through transferring the basic ideas of capitalist ideology to a few people in the Third World countries, including the capitalist way of life and social relations, so that the capitalist states would exploit the majority in every society of these states.

The bourgeoisie came under the name of the trusteeship of the advanced peoples over the backward peoples. It did not take long for their objectives to appear. Their aim was revealed as hated colonialism with all the evils and exploitation associated with the black history of this word. And when colonialism receded on a large scale

following World War II, the capitalist states replaced this method with new ones but did not replace the original intentions and aims.

Capitalist activities, the social injustice associated with them, and the repression of peoples and the usurpation of their freedom and the right of sovereignty by the Western countries was countered by the ascension to power of the Communist Party in tsarist Russia after World War I. This was followed by the ascension to power of the communist parties in a number of well-known East European countries and China after World War II.

As time went by, the effect of communism on peoples waned. The faith in communism weakened even in communist countries with the result that we have witnessed. Amid this communist recession, or rather the collapse of the communist theory and program in the Soviet Union and before that in Eastern Europe, we are witnessing hectic Western endeavors to cover their loopholes by trying to prove that the collapse of communism is a victory for their theory, that their theory is the one capable of being applied to the whole world. The aim is not to make the world economically prosperous and technologically advanced like the West, but to make the world accept the West's role of master and become a follower of it.

Because the United States is now the strongest power in the West, leadership, according to this concept, should indisputably go to it. As for us, we believe that what postponed the collapse and exposure of the West's theory was the emergence of communism as a frightening pole that threatened many concepts which nations have maintained and embraced since the beginning of life. These are headed by the relationship between the worshiped God and the human being, the worshiper of God. The retreat and collapse of communism has saved the world, including the European nations, from the extortion exercised by the domineering self-interested minority against the majority that surrendered under local and international pressures of life.

The Mother of Battles dissipated the false halo, tore up the colorful veils, bared the sharp teeth of the Western beast, and exposed the falsehood of all slogans with which they deluded some people at a time when they were plotting against the human mind with their attractive, deceitful formulation of these slogans and by playing on words and talking about freedom, democracy, human rights, and respect for so-called international legitimacy.

The first wave of bombers that dropped their bombs on Baghdad struck at every independent and humanitarian policy in the entire world, not only because it struck at the capital of the most prominent policy in this regard at the present age, but also because it has greatly embarrassed and exposed those who for some time hid behind flimsy covers. Moreover, this wave has sent America down to the bottom by exposing its ugly intentions

against independent policies and any course bent on scientific and technological development in the Third World countries.

The development of the stands that followed the aggression has largely exposed the U.S. policy of fighting any trend that is independent of its policy, which seeks total world subservience to it and prevention of any independent development by the Third World countries.

America's assumption of first place in the world, uncontested as is meant to be depicted, instantly coincided with the U.S.-led aggression against Iraq. It was very clear that many of those who participated in this aggression and helped it achieve its objectives through stands, measures, and funds, did so out of true fear of U.S. terrorism and pressure. This would make some of them, now or in the future, feel guilty. This feeling will increase after it is revealed that America has won the lion's share of the gains of aggression against Iraq in the short and long runs. Moreover, the exposure of the inhuman policy adopted by the United States against the great Iraqi people and the mujahid Palestinian people will greatly embarrass all Third World countries not only before the outside world, but also before their peoples.

We can say, therefore, that after the first wave of bombs dropped on Baghdad, this aggression showed America as the tyranny feared by all those who do not have sufficient faith to make them reject its policy. At the same time, this aggression removed America from the top, bringing it down from the peak after it lost the basis to convince the world of the soundness and sincerity of its trend.

Hence, in addition to our spiritual belief, we believe—and we are confident in our belief for practical reasons—that America's fall into the abyss has begun. Or, at least, it no longer has the upper hand in the world after dropping the first wave of bombs on Baghdad, which is an equivalent center for all the camp of blasphemy and aggression represented by more than 30 countries led by the United States and its President, who is obsessed with doing evil.

This shows you, O Comrades, and shows our great people how great, human, and ideological is the role you are playing as well as the role you and your people played through the suffering, for which the West is responsible, particularly the United States and its criminal administration.

Your steadfastness; your rejection of injustice; your calls for justice on the national, pan-Arab, and international levels; your patience, endurance, and sacrifices; the moaning of your sick people and the sufferings of your children and kinfolk; your brave resistance, great steadfastness, and victories in this epic of steadfastness and challenge of injustice, largely reveal and expedite the collapse of the West's infidel doctrine. This collapse appears through the exposure of lack of credibility, double standards, greediness to overwhelm and control the nation's wealth; through their clear desire to seize the nation's sovereignty; through the tearing up of the West's

covers with which it tried to delude the world that it has abandoned its colonialist policy and political doctrines which it created to serve this abominable course; through the exposure of the inhumane intentions and acts carried out by the United States and its alliance with Zionism against the people of Iraq, the people of Palestine, and the whole Arab nation. Through all this—which is also proof—the end of the Western capitalist theory is coming closer. It is moving toward destruction. Thus, your theory will have an international dimension in terms of its faithful and militant human nationalism. It will have this dimension not through exportation and mechanical transfer, as communism sought in the past and as the West wants, but through human interaction and interactional exchange in human relations and sacrifices.

We say to those who—affected by the false Western pretexts—claim that this is the age of materialism and the age of practical and materialistic components in life, not an age of doctrines: Doctrines do not appear and disappear in one age. They exist in all ages and phases of time to enlighten hearts and life, fill them with light, confidence in God, and in a better future for mankind. Meanwhile, the calls for doing away with doctrines and spiritless materialistic structures will be destroyed, and darkness will prevail in the life of those who have no creed.

And, because, after the last heavenly message, Islam, God Almighty has given the role of prophets and messengers not to certain individuals, but to every endeavor, jihad, struggle, and good and virtuous work, the ideologies that run contrary to the theories of those with vested interests and the humanitarian outlook and behavior will continue to live. The need for such ideologies, outlook, and behavior will grow whenever ideologies or theories, thought to be correct alternatives by some, start to collapse. Thus, the age of materialism will be blown up by the age of the spirit, not from outside, but also from within.

Those Westerners who drown themselves in the considerations and meanings of materialism are today the ones who need the opposite ideology—the ideology that achieves a balance between materialism and its components, as a controlled unit within a correct cultural renaissance on the one hand, and the spirit and its motives on the other in order to bring balance to life. As has been the case throughout history, reinforcement will come to them from the East, where meanings and standards, contained in the Torah and the Bible—and afterward, in the holy Koran—were born and lived in such a way that shows them that they have done injustice to people and themselves. These standards and meanings will not only mobilize other people, but will, equally, mobilize their tortured humanitarianism, which also tortures others because of the pressures of materialism and the falsity of the false ones.

Thus, actions from outside and within will cooperate to correct the mistake and bring balance to the world. And,

then, the theory of unrivaled monopolization of the world—a theory advocated by the U.S. Administration, which does not know the laws of life or the laws of God Almighty, who has not made any of the ideologies, or even the heavenly messages His messengers conveyed to all of mankind, claim unrivaled monopoly on the world at any point in time—will be proved wrong.

This, then, is the greatest victory. Your role in all of this will not be limited to cultural and material life, as is the case with other nations, but, as it should always be, your role will be a great spiritual and cultural one.

We should probably ask the question: Does the collapse of the West's theory and the political ideology of the dominant group in Western society mean the fall of their economic theory regarding the needs of supply and demand, the achievement of surplus, and realizing the best services and material needs of peoples? This theory, and all the financial and economic considerations related to it, is based on a natural and a semi-instinctive tendency. Thus, and within that context, it should not be called ideology. Rather, it is a semi-instinctive condition which man has shaped through theoretical and practical description by studying the behavior based on it. On that basis, one cannot deny it or deny its importance in economic life. A project must be economically feasible from the viewpoint of private funds. It should not, however, control all activities of life and the activities of public funds. The interest of the majority, even when private fund activities are taken into consideration, should be given priority if there has been any infringement on the majority's share of life and aspirations and if injustice was done to the majority's role.

This is the law that should accompany private activity and funds. We have seen that this has accompanied private activity in certain aspects of life, even in the Western countries. It was seen in some of their activities and outlook toward their people, and in certain activities founded on the basis of public ownership or public economic activity, although this activity has now shrunk in these countries after the West has covered that known distance of development and achieved a surplus of material needs, and after their governments and parliaments have practically become representatives of the minority that controls interests, and not of the majority.

We must add that even in this field, the West differentiated between its commercial activities based on absolute freedom of the market outside the West, aimed at exploiting other nations, and the activities inside Western countries and with regard to certain phases of development. Moreover, the law of supply and demand would provide an abundance of goods and services during phases of development where economic and social life has achieved great advances and a level of stability and where self-sufficiency in production and services has realized national aims so that competition to realize better standards is reached.

As for Third World countries, with their well-known backwardness and the great gap in development in many of them compared with the economic, cultural, and technological progress of the advanced countries, the law of supply and demand does not necessarily realize excess in production or improve the quality of services and goods, let alone its other disadvantages. This is because the most important thing that the capitalists and private investors care for in all fields in the Third World and with its many troubles and changing circumstances is quick, guaranteed profit. Therefore, development projects, especially infrastructure projects that are absolutely necessary to realize a balanced and ascending economic, social, and cultural progress, will not be considered.

Based on the free market theory, in which the West is trying to involve the Third World countries, the Third World markets will be opened and for all practical purposes be monopolized by foreign capital. This is because foreign capital can be guaranteed either by the country in which it is invested or by the guarantees given by capitalist states to companies they encourage to work outside their territories. Any encouragement and guarantee for this capital will not be realized except in accordance with the policies, strategies, and considerations of these states. Therefore, the states, nations, and peoples that could fall into such traps will be destined to become dependent, and their development—or rather their backwardness—will be subjected to the Western states and the like, given that these states possess enough capital, companies, and experience to qualify them for this work. And with all the guarantees that they offer to foreign companies that invade foreign markets, these states will also carry out activities and work that would realize quick profit. Their basic aim will be directed at certain types of services, sales, commercial, and tourist activities, and similar things in order to realize quick, high profit, build economic links to this profit, and render a calculated service that would be in one way or another dependent on the mother countries' economic activities and services.

This undoubtedly applies to all states where public funds are scarce and where the economic activities, including basic services that parallel the private sector services, are confined to a price ceiling and high level of quality.

We in Iraq employed companies through contracts that concluded with the end of the services they rendered and after they received their fees. Under the right circumstances and conditions, such employment was and is still correct because it took place in propitious financial circumstances, according to a solid national leadership will, and with matching public funds. This occurred at a time when economic activity had no serious connection with foreign trade and economic activity in general.

Today, however, one can conceive and realize all the theoretical concepts about which we have talked in this speech by reflecting on what is taking place in the Iraqi market after the private sector was given almost total

freedom and after socialist activity and the socialist sector and public funds became unable to balance every activity and remedy all affairs of life, especially in the field of certain services and commercial activity in general.

Before the Mother of Battles, the capital economy, which aimed at achieving political aims, did not achieve any convergence, joint action, or implicit or agreed exchange of interests with the local private sector activity. Now, however, and if the present situation persists, it will create common ground that is agreed on with various parties in local private activity. An agreed implicit or practical exchange of interests will take place. Interests will even intermingle so that the West will in one way or another be affected in its interests and programs and even the programs of its companies and intelligence services, and not only the general programs and concepts of its states. If this is accompanied by what they seek to achieve on the level of culture and information and on the level of parliamentary elections at later stages, they will thus, God forbid, tighten the links of plotting, which might achieve a considerable part of the results peacefully and will at the same time serve as a psychological and practical base for nonpeaceful plotting.

What we have spoken about and what we are talking about today reveals to us at what stage we are today and what level of strength, awareness, and firmness it requires. Moreover, it reveals that at a time when dialogue should be the basis of persuasion and satisfaction, it is inevitable that the behavior of the leadership and government—the cabinet—plays a leading role to rectify matters. Those who intermingle with the West and who are affected by it in the way an admirer or follower is, do not benefit our people and nation and are not allowed in any case and under any circumstances to assume any post in guidance and leadership on the various levels of political, social, cultural, and informational life and other levels, particularly on the level of the leadership links that have considerable influence on the economic sector.

Comrades, when we present such an analysis in this field or various analyses in other fields, and when we present or hold back assumptions on what the hostile forces and the rejected negative phenomena can achieve, we aim at increasing awareness of what is going on around us and at being cautious and having the appropriate means to find the mines of life or the mines of enemies. As well as our confidence in God, our confidence in ourselves, the great Ba'th Party, the comrades of the long march, and the people and nation is unlimited. Regardless of the partial and hasty view, which some may have, that our enemies are strong enough, God's will is stronger. The care and protection with which God Almighty has surrounded the Iraq of glory, faith, and jihad can extend their protective shadows to any corner targeted by the saboteurs, treacherous ones, and agents.

As as you have always known us, we and your mujahid comrades in the command, in other quarters, and in the

party—and with a confidence higher than any mountain summit on earth and more supreme than any value that is not supplied by the belief in God and justice and right—are able to build a great, glorious, able, mujahid, and healthy Iraq, and to defend it as we have done in the past until the swords of the enemies are broken and our swords remain sharp and effective, and until the banner of God is great flies splendidly over our ranks and the armies of building and reconstruction, now that the grandeur of the glorious word Allah has risen on our great flag. God is great. Glory, loftiness, invulnerability, and pride to our nation and great people.

The comrade leader then told the congress members: The new command, which will win your vote of confidence, will face numerous major tasks. Despite the fact that there is not enough time to discuss all the details of what we believe to be the tasks the command has to fulfill, we must mention, in passing, what we believe to be the most important on the level of the Party's internal life and the people, and, as much as we have time to do, on the Arab and international levels. Among these tasks is how to deal with the negative psychological effects and the legitimate and illegitimate needs of certain quarters among the people; and how to ensure the success of practical action to describe the new phase of democratic practice on all levels, particularly on the level of the party's internal life.

Among the things we must adhere to in this field is to choose the party leaders from now on, and in all circumstances, through elections. Every one of us must remind the other of any departure, regardless of how partial it may be, from this principle. If the need arises, any exception from this principle must be justified, made at the narrowest level possible, and not go beyond the immediate reason and circumstance. The command, which makes such an exception, must be responsible for it in its subsequent congress. Furthermore, the command responsible for this exception must terminate it when the circumstance which necessitated such an extraordinary measure changes. In all cases, the bylaws should be fully applied to all within the party's internal life.

The leadership is now facing a matter that should be tackled; namely, violation of the law and encroachment on others' rights, which has increased after the 30-state aggression. Despite the good efforts that have been made so far, there is a dire need to reduce this phenomenon as soon as possible so that it will return to normal limits in accordance with the development of time, social life, and circumstances and their psychological effects.

For matters to return to normal, the Ba'thists and their families must be among the first people to respect the law; they should be an example to the people in this matter as well as in everything. The failure of some government quarters to control matters or to intervene seriously and firmly against those who tamper with the people's food and standard of economic life and against deviant social phenomena should end. Officials should begin within the level of their responsibilities—together

on the common path—to take serious, organized, and deterrent actions against these evil phenomena and souls whenever they deem necessary.

As of now, the leadership and party should not accept in the leading ranks of the party and in the state those seeking praise for their leniency from opportunist and suspect quarters and criminal circles at the expense of the people and their values, at the expense of the poor people and their legitimate real needs, and at the expense of higher principles. This call does not contravene the stage of expanding democracy and adopting pluralism, which we seriously seek to proceed with. Allowing things to go uncontrolled and opening illegitimate opportunities before such phenomena will harm democracy. If the implementation of democracy harms the majority, then it will be the democracy of the minority in terms of understanding and action; and if it provides a good life for the majority, particularly in terms of food and security in addition to the freedom of expression and creed in accordance with the law, it will be the democracy of the majority although it does not suit the minority.

In another field, we have to define the relationship of the party with the government departments on the level of major departments and vital branches in a way that will not involve the party in minor details. These details have been bypassed by the stage; they will exhaust the party and government if they are interlinked again after they became undesirable. On many occasions, this undesirable linkage put some party organizations or party members in charge of tasks that are the responsibility of those working in the administration and personnel departments. Consequently this will have negative effects on discipline, production, and performance, and responsibility will be lost. The party's primary role should be to achieve the objectives and reach the desired accurately described situation through control and cooperation.

The feeling that the party should be—psychologically—far away from the function of government departments as if what is happening does not concern it will lead to tacit or—sometimes—to authorized relinquishment. Thus, its guidance, mobilization, and defense relations will deviate from the right path.

Some might say that the employees from party members in their own departments could criticize errors and deviations and propose and offer better alternatives and methods from their departments' offices rather than from their positions in the state system and without putting this thing within the party framework. In answer to this I say that the spirit of the party is more effective than the spirit of the office if mobilized on the basis of its responsibilities and comprehension. And although I agree with the idea that each Ba'thist in his office should carry out his duties in accordance with party spirit, traditions, and understanding to the extent he believes correct and necessary and without disturbing the order of responsibilities and the valid laws in this field, we

must realize that the spirit of ties within the party cannot be transferred as it is to the state.

Therefore, criticizing errors and deviations cannot be realized in a perfect, sound manner within the state administration, taking into consideration the differing responsibilities and the fact that this should be acceptable and beneficial in all cases and under all circumstances. Nevertheless, the party is not responsible for defending repeated errors that are made out of a desire to interpret instructions or because of forgetfulness imposed by understandable circumstances. The relations of jihad among the Ba'thists, be they between the state administration or the party administration, should be the basis in this regard in preference to bureaucracy and the narrow framework of the employees union concept. This concept is incapable of paving the ground for connecting party and state activity without canceling the specialization, responsibility, and direct action, each from his own position concerning this and that, be it on the level of party or state activities.

We are in dire need now for this understanding in order to mobilize efforts in the field of establishing human and material construction and to defend this construction against the enemies of sovereignty, faith, honor, right, and justice. What is also worthy of attention is the youth and students sector in terms of increased knowledge and care for their development in education and thought. The organizational responsibilities and the methods of work in this field should be discussed and revised in order to strengthen the conviction in our party's role, as it always has been; namely, a guide and a worthy leader of the youth and students sector. The party's responsibility to this sector has increased now that many rejected phenomena have invaded it, and given the competition to win the youths and students to this or that side.

On the level of the party's internal life, we say that each important law issued by the state should most of the time be coupled with the reasons that necessitate it. These reasons are written in a language understandable to the majority of people, revealing the background of the law. Therefore, these reasons play a basic role in explaining the requirements for enacting this law as well as in helping people understand the meaning of the law in a more accurate and defined manner. This understanding will serve to create the necessary enthusiasm to implement the law. It even serves as a background for sticking to the point when such a law is constructively criticized. And since this is the role of the indispensable reasons for enacting important and significant state laws, it then behooves us to have these reasons before us when we make party decisions.

Despite repeated assertions that comrades in higher echelons should explain to their other comrades every decision or measure, we must say that the application of this instruction and trend has been very limited. This deficiency is almost general, and takes place at all levels, even at the level of the Regional Command.

So as not to waste too much time talking about examples, we say abidance by the meanings and fundamentals of the bylaws is very important when dealing with party members and respecting the party traditions. Such an experience would also be important to explain the decisions taken by the party leadership and the reasons behind them, including the decisions of the Regional Command.

Such a course, which proved to be right in all phases of our party's struggle and action, is also right now. Everyone must respect it and at all levels. Any exception to it must be based on a justified decision made at that exception's level and at the responsibility of the leadership concerned.

Comrades, you all know that the burden of the difficult circumstances, particularly the circumstances following the opening of fire by the aggressive 30-state coalition, has shaken the convictions and positions of certain quarters and groups among the people. Some of them have even gone to dangerous extremes in the way they viewed the 30-state aggression and dealing with aggressors. Although the major conspiracy is still going on; although it has been only five months since the cease-fire by the 30-state coalition of injustice, infidelity, and vice; although the unjust economic blockade, which bites the body and, sometimes, harms the soul of some people, is still maintained; and although part of the chapters of treachery and treason continues, our people are well, thanks to God.

After everything we have said, some of which you know or have known in the past, the nature and type of the current phase has become clearer. You now have further prerequisites for clarity so that the Ba'thist mujahidin in this conference would know what kind of aspirations await us, and what kind and level of indispensable bases and standards are needed for the Regional Command members who, God willing, will be charged with the tasks of leadership and great responsibility. We have great confidence that you will put your confidence only in the right place as leaders of principles who have to choose someone to represent them and their principles—someone on whom hopes are pinned to represent the people of jihad and the esteemed level before the principles themselves and the world.

Thus you will continue the march, having confidence in the protection of God Almighty, while angels above protect you, and the souls of the virtuous martyrs of al-Qadisiyah and the Mother of Battles beseech God to protect and guide you to do what pleases Him. A bright sun and a shining moon shall rise to light up the path and reaffirm the declaration that the Ba'thists convey a message and carry a noble, great call; that they continue to march on the same path; and that they do not retreat but forge ahead.

God is great. Mercy be upon our virtuous martyrs. God is great. Accursed be the lowly.

At the conclusion of leader President Comrade Saddam Husayn's comprehensive speech, which the congress members received with extreme attention and welcome as expressed in their cheers at the principal parts of the speech, the congress began to perform its duties according to the working rules of party congresses. The first step was to elect the Chairmanship Office. In accordance with the members' nomination, the congress decided to elect comrade 'Izzat Ibrahim as chairman of the congress, comrade 'Ali Hasan al-Majid as deputy chairman, and comrades Muhammad Hamzah al-Zubaydi and Mizban Khadr Hadi as rapporteurs. After the Chairmanship Office assumed its duties, the membership of the congress members was examined according to the observed rules. A general discussion then began.

At the outset, a number of congress members suggested adopting the leader comrade's speech as the basic document of the congress; the suggestion was unanimously approved. During the discussion, which lasted several hours, a large number of congress members spoke. They dealt with the various aspects of the party's internal life, state and society affairs, and the former Regional Command members' performance in the party and state. Following the general discussion, the congress moved on to electing the Regional Command. In accordance with the proposals of a large number of its members, and upon the approval of the party's National Command, which was present, the congress decided that the regional secretary should be elected by the congress itself and not the regional command as was the case in the past. The congress unanimously elected comrade leader Saddam Husayn as secretary of the Regional Command. The elections, whose details were published in the newspapers on 15 September 1991, were then held according to observed practices. The 16 Regional Command members were elected in accordance with the votes they obtained. They are the comrades:

1. 'Izzat Ibrahim, whom the command reelected as deputy secretary.
2. 'Ali Hasan al-Majid.
3. Kamil Yasin Rashid.
4. Sa'di Mahdi Salih.
5. Tariq 'Aziz.
6. Muhammad Hamzah al-Zubaydi.
7. Mizban Khadr Hadi.
8. Muhammad Zimam 'Abd-al-Razzaq.
9. Taha Yasin Ramadan.
10. Muhammad Yunus al-Ahmad.
11. Khadr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Husayn.
12. 'Abd-al-Rahman Ahmad.
13. Nuri Faysal Shahir.
14. 'Abd-al-Ghani 'Abd-al-Ghafur.
15. Mizhir Matni al-'Awwad.
16. Fawzi Khalaf.

PNPF Condemns U.S. Burying Soldiers Alive*JN1709162291 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio First Program Network in Arabic 1400 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Text] The Progressive National and Patriotic Front [PNPF] condemned the U.S. forces' ugly and brutal crime of burying a large number of Iraqi soldiers alive during the 30-state aggression against Iraq. In a statement issued today, the front stressed that this crime exposed the falsity of U.S. allegations on international legitimacy and human rights slogans, and exposed the disgraceful reality of the U.S. imperialists, headed by President Bush and his administration, who proved by this ugly action that they are a bunch of murderers, slaughterers, and war criminals.

In its statement, the PNPF urged all political parties and forces, humanitarian and legal organizations, and the faithful masses around the world to denounce this ugly crime and to condemn its perpetrators, headed by the U.S. President. The front urged world public opinion to work to lift the unjust economic blockade without any conditions, given that the blockade constitutes a violation of UN resolutions and the human rights declaration.

Concluding its statement, the PNPF stressed rallying around Iraq's lofty and proud symbol, leader President Saddam Husayn, in order to continue the march of jihad and construction, to defend Iraq, and to raise higher its lofty cultural edifice.

ICRC Urged To Investigate*JN1709192791 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1805 GMT 17 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] Baghdad, 17 Sep (INA)—Iraq has appealed to the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] to adopt appropriate measures to investigate the ugly U.S. crime of burying Iraqi soldiers alive in their trenches during the U.S.-Zionist-Atlantic aggression against Iraq.

In a message to ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga, Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn affirmed that the deliberate burial of wounded and unwounded soldiers in mass graves constitutes an ugly crime that sharply contrasts with the stipulations of the Geneva Conventions, especially the Geneva Convention of 1949.

The message requested that the necessary measures be taken to obtain full information from the U.S. Government and specialized authorities on the locations of the mass graves in which the U.S. forces buried thousands of wounded and unwounded Iraqi soldiers alive.

The message refers to the tragic information published by the U.S. papers THE WASHINGTON POST and NEWSDAY on Thursday, 12 September 1991, and the statements of a number of U.S. Army officers that affirmed that U.S. regular forces, specifically the First Mechanized Infantry Division, buried thousands of wounded and unwounded Iraqi soldiers alive under tonnes of sand. [passage omitted]

Ahmad Husayn stressed that the ugly crime committed by the U.S. forces constitutes a humiliating violation of all bases of the humanitarian international law and the Geneva Convention of 1949.

The foreign minister said: The Government of the Iraqi Republic is fully ready to cooperate with you to proceed with the appropriate measures in accordance with relevant international conventions and the bases of the humanitarian international law in order to restore the remains of Iraqi martyrs.

Statements on Nuclear Inspection 'Refuted'*JN1809073391 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0630 GMT 18 Sep 91*

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Sep (INA)—A responsible source at the Iraqi Atomic Energy Agency refuted the statements made by Mr. Ekeus, chairman of the Special Committee at the Security Council. The statements are rife with contradictions, considering all the technical and planning nuclear-related information presented by Iraq.

Commenting on Mr. Ekeus's statements, the responsible source told INA that Mr. Ekeus's general, loose remarks represent flimsy and exposed pretexts that conceal other motives to justify prolonging the unjust economic blockade imposed on Iraq.

The source added: We have grown accustomed to hearing statements from the heads of international inspection teams, officials of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], and the Special Committee, that constantly repeat phrases like "the Iraqis are very cooperative," "we are surely confident." After saying this, however, the same officials would wonder again "but is there anything concealed?" Or they would add that they still need more time to collect information and assess programs.

The source went on to say: The statement of Mr. Ekeus, chairman of the Special Committee, is not different from the phrases cited above. It is full of contradictions, because on one occasion he says that good progress was made, while on another occasion he claims that he cannot say that Iraq has been fully cooperative in any of the major work fields. He also claims that the committee has not found the help needed. Yet on a third occasion Mr. Ekeus says that Iraqi cooperation was good on the technical level in relation to the declared materials and that good impressions prevailed among inspectors and that they were being well informed. Mr. Ekeus then contradicts himself by saying that cooperation with us was little, or even nonexistent, in the fields that still needed investigation.

The source added: It seems that certain limits have been described to Mr. Ekeus or others, and that he and the others are not allowed to go beyond these limits when the good cooperation shown by Iraq has to be mentioned. Also, it seems the word "negative" should be used to belittle the importance of this cooperation and to show

that Iraq is not complying with the Security Council resolution in order to justify the continuation of the economic blockade.

The source added: We have noticed that some inspectors and some heads of the inspection teams seek to become political stars in their countries. They believe that this is possible through harming Iraq. When they find that they have no choice but to note Iraq's full cooperation, they use ambiguous or loose phrases to belittle the value of this cooperation.

The source expressed hope that Mr. Ekeus will not enter the open auction to become a star, as he does not need it. How can we understand—after all that Iraq has presented in terms of technical and planning information in the nuclear field—Mr. Ekeus's statement that his committee lacks what can be termed as a major plan.

The source noted that our first observation of the work of the inspection teams was that each team lacks a major plan. This is not strange, because they are implementing a strange resolution, which is the first of its kind, and these teams have no experience in this regard.

The source noted that when Ekeus, together with the IAEA director, visited Iraq last June heading the high-ranking committee, the head of the Iraqi Atomic Energy Agency noted that the IAEA had not defined exactly what it wanted and that Iraq made individual efforts to provide information on forms prepared by the Iraqi authorities. The IAEA director admitted this and promised to review the matter.

The source stressed that talking about lacking a major plan after all these months raises questions. For what is it that is really needed from the major plan, and what are its components? Has Mr. Ekeus not taken notice of the minutes of the meeting between the chairman of the Iraqi Atomic Energy Agency and the fourth inspection team, in which the Iraqi representative reviewed the Iraqi plan concerning its nuclear program? And is the detailed description that was presented by the deputy chairman of the agency to the third and fourth inspection teams not enough? What is meant by the major plan?

The source added: It is very obvious that the Special Committee and its inspection teams want to make Iraq a laboratory to practice inspection methods and discover technologies for the benefit of advanced countries, after having discovered the genuineness of Iraq's creative achievements. This is why, whenever they discover a creative Iraqi achievement or advanced invention, they send experts to learn about Iraqi knowledge under an international technical facade. The last topic discussed was chemical enrichment. After Iraqi researchers explained this topic in detail to the third nuclear inspection team, which concluded its visit to Iraq on 19 July 1991, the team was satisfied and content with the explanation and did not ask any further question.

When the fourth team came to Iraq, however, they asked if it was possible to have a similar technical presentation on the same subject. The Iraqi side responded to that request in August, and submitted, in addition to the presentation, detailed documents that included even reports on the progress of the work. The inspection team's report, however, did not mention anything at all about the subject.

The source added: Finally, a fifth inspection team arrived this week. We realized that the team includes a French expert on chemical enrichment. The team asked us to allow the French expert to compare notes with Iraqi experts on this subject.

The responsible source at the Iraqi Atomic Energy Agency went on to say: We must get to the bottom of this affair. During the visit by the head of the French Atomic Energy, along with the French prime minister, in 1979, the French suggested that we take part in the French chemical enrichment program and purchase the technology needed for this. But Iraq was short of cadres and sufficient experience then. After the development of the Iraqi program in the eighties, however, Iraqi experts started working on their own and made progress regarding that method. This explains the reason why major countries are seeking Iraqi knowledge in this field. And this is the real reason behind the arrival of a French expert with the fifth nuclear inspection team, and there are many examples of such practices.

The source affirmed that speaking about the lack of such a major plan and the other general and loose phrases are weak and exposed pretexts which conceal other motives. Some of these motives are technical, such as stealing knowledge, while others are political in order to give a technical cover and international legitimacy for the continuation of the war of starvation and the destruction of the achievements of the Iraqi people and their economic pillars.

What calls for deep regret is that Ekeus appears ignorant in the technological field when he simply notes that the uranium enrichment programs in Iraq are not for peaceful purposes, because of the nature of the enrichment activities, as he put it. Does this not mean that all countries should stop their enrichment activities because of the nature of these activities?

The source added: It seems that wisdom, sound judgment, and scientific honesty have been replaced in this absurd world. What is really surprising is that Ekeus gives arbitrary figures in billions about the Iraqi nuclear program and questions the wisdom of all these investments.

The source said: Wisdom requires that Ekeus approach the main sources, which spent money on these investments, and not give free rein to his imagination or derive his information from magazines and newspapers.

The source noted that the officials in the Iraqi Atomic Energy Agency provided the total figures for the costs of

its projects whether those implemented by French and Italian companies in the seventies or those that were implemented in the eighties. These figures are not as generous as those given by Ekeus; in fact, they are far less.

The source added that the figures given to the French and Italian companies in the seventies are higher than the eighties' figures. And the governments, which approved the work of these companies in Iraq, did not question the significance of these investments. These governments believed that these investments were feasible. However, because the eighties' projects were carried out by Iraqis, they are considered not feasible, lacking in wisdom and raising doubts by those who want to distort facts for predetermined purposes.

The source stressed that had Iraq spent money on projects without scientific or technological value that would guarantee Iraq's prosperous future, independent from foreign hegemony, nobody would have questioned the wisdom of such projects, and Iraq would not have been exposed to the 30-state aggression. In fact, those who want to maintain the picture of the backward Arab, who does not know how to master science and achieve progress, would have been reassured.

The source said that Iraq—thanks to its enlightened, historic leadership under leader President Saddam Husayn, may God preserve him—placed its money at the disposal of its sons to build a scientific, technological, and industrial base. On this, Iraq could confront the future and its challenges. Otherwise, the Iraqis would not have been able to rebuild so quickly the infrastructure that was destroyed by the 30-state aggression.

The source said: The objective of that aggression was, and still is, to push Iraq back into the Middle Ages. However, the leaders of the aggression were disappointed because of the scientific and technological base on which Iraq is built. What we do not understand and makes us resentful is why the human factor becomes a source of concern for Mr. Ekeus—when this human factor is the real guarantee for Iraq's technological future and economic prosperity—while he is not moved by the American tanks which buried alive this human factor with the knowledge and at the instructions of their military and political leaders.

Debts To Be Repaid After Lifting of Blockade

JN1709191191 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1820 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Baghdad, 17 Sep (INA)—Finance Minister Majid 'Abd Ja'far has stressed that Iraq was, and still is, committed to all its obligations and duties with all world creditors. In a statement to INA, the minister said that Iraq stopped repayment because of the blockade imposed against it, and because its assets in foreign banks are frozen. He said Iraq is serious about and committed to settling all its debts should the blockade be lifted and the frozen assets be released.

No Obligation To Reveal Internal Security Plan

JN1709172391 Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 16 Sep 91 p 8

[By Sabah Nahi]

[Excerpts] Baghdad—In a statement to INA, Mas'ud Barzani, leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, affirmed that the dialogue between the central leadership and the Kurdish parties front has made very great progress on the path toward an agreement, and that the announcement of an agreement is only a matter of time. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, an authorized source at the Foreign Ministry made a statement to AL-JUMHURIYAH on the internal security measures and arrangements, and international parties' stands on them. He said Iraq, as a UN member state, is a country with full sovereignty over its national territory. The source said that UN Security Council Resolutions 687 (Paragraph C) and 688 (Paragraph 7) explicitly stipulate respecting Iraq's sovereignty and political independence. On this basis, the government is not obliged to inform any party whatsoever of any measures concerning internal security in the country, because this is a purely domestic matter that we do not allow anybody to interfere in or tamper with.

President Demobilizes Reservists Born in 1966

JN1509134991 Baghdad AL-QADISIYAH
in Arabic 12 Sep 91 pp 1, 7

[By 'Ala' Laftah Musa]

[Excerpt] AL-QADISIYAH learned that leader President Saddam Husayn, may God protect him, agreed to demobilize all ranks of those reservists born in 1966, including doctors and pharmacologists born in the same year, as of Sunday, 15 September 1991.

AL-QADISIYAH also learned that all ranks of reservist doctors and pharmacologists born in 1965 have been demobilized effective of 15 September. [passage omitted]

Political Parties Law Goes Into Effect 16 Sep

JN1709170891 Baghdad INA in English 1238 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Baghdad, Sept 17, INA—The political parties' law has come into force as from yesterday, BABIL newspaper said today.

The daily said that the law, which included 34 articles, had given each Iraqi the right to form, join or withdraw from a political party and stipulated that the party should not be based on atheism, sectarianism, regionalism or anti-Arabism.

It pointed out that the existent political parties had 120 days, starting from yesterday, to adapt their legal situation in accordance with the law.

The paper added that the law decided that the newly-formed parties should be based in Baghdad, but it granted them the right to set up branches in the administrative units and issue a political newspaper or magazine, or both, with the acknowledgment of the minister of culture and information.

Foreign Minister Views Arab League Meeting

JN1409115791 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1100 GMT
14 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Baghdad, 14 Sep (INA)—Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn has returned to Baghdad after participating in the meetings of the 96th session of the Arab League Council held in Cairo from 10-12 September.

In a statement to INA, the foreign minister said that the Arab League Council entrusted the secretary general to follow up on the implementation of an additional clause presented by the Iraqi delegation entitled: "The Iraqi People's Suffering as a Result of the Continued Blockade Against Them."

In the general report he presented to the council, Arab League Secretary General Dr. 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid stressed the Arab League's concern for exerting all possible efforts to alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people due to food and medicine shortages. The Arab League secretary general promised to contact the UN Security Council president and the permanent member states to discuss this issue.

The report emphasized the Arab League's rejection of any attempt to undermine Iraq's territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and independence, and of any threats to carry out a new military attack on Iraq.

Mr. Ahmad Husayn noted that at the Arab foreign ministers' meetings, he refuted the allegations of being Kuwaitis present in Iraq. He reiterated a call on the council to dispatch a fact-finding mission to investigate this issue. He said that the Iraqi delegation presented a comprehensive file containing the names of Kuwaitis in Iraq based on the statistical survey conducted by the International Committee of the Red Cross. He added that the foreign minister of the Kuwaiti regime could not reply to these facts that are documented with figures. [passage omitted]

The foreign minister said that the Iraqi delegation made reservations on Paragraph "A" of the Resolution on Palestine and the Arab-Zionist conflict, which is related to the so-called peace efforts. He stressed that this paragraph is not based on the resolutions of the Arab summit or Arab League Council meetings.

Mr. Ahmad Husayn described the 96th Arab League session as a positive resumption of the march of joint Arab action after a paralysis of more than a year. He said that the Arab foreign ministers discussed more than 20

political topics, in addition to resolutions and recommendations submitted by the economic, legal, administrative, and finance committees. [passage omitted]

Minister Leaves for Meeting With Jordan, Egypt

JN1309143091 Baghdad INA in English 1210 GMT
13 Sep 91

[Text] Baghdad, Sep. 13, INA—Mr Khalid Salih Ammar, undersecretary of the Ministry of Transport and Communications, left for Amman today to head the Iraqi delegation to meetings of Arab Jissr Navigation Company due in al-'Aqabah, with the participation of Jordan and Egypt.

In a statement to INA he has said the meetings are to discuss over three days a report of the company's board of directors on activities of the company during the first half of this year and study the purchase of a number of ferries for transport between the ports of Jordanian port of al-Aqabah and the Egyptian of al-Nuwaybi for facilitating the movement of passengers between the three countries.

Bush Said Seeking U.S. Capitalist Empire

JN1709182691 Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
16 Sep 91 p 3

[Comment by Muhammad Hannun Al Sharbah: "America's Reality"]

[Text] In view of his political makeup and the structure from which he derives his power, President George Bush now considers himself to be the last Caesar ruling the last empire in history. When he talks about the new world order which he wants to establish during the closing years of the 20th century, he would in fact be talking about the establishment of a capitalist U.S. empire to control the world after the decline and breakup of the communist world.

The banner raised by the last emperor carries democratic slogans. Of course, we know well what kind of democracy that is and what its nature and remote objectives are. In fact, it is the democracy of the capitalist system which is based on exploiting peoples and their resources and markets. It is a greedy democracy that knows nothing about equality or mercy.

The U.S.-Zionist aggression has exposed some of those "humane" U.S. stands when the aggressors hit Iraq with unprecedented brutality, thus unveiling their true ugly face. The latest disclosures by the U.S. press reveal the U.S. forces' immoral practices during their aggression on Iraqi territory. It has been revealed that a number of our heroic fighters had been buried alive in their trenches by U.S. bulldozer-fitted tanks when they occupied Iraqi territory. Our heroes refused to retreat before the aggression and preferred martyrdom in the Mother of Battles.

That is the tragic nature of the reality of America in war and peace. The last emperor in history will continue to

coat the inhuman ambitions of his empire's policy with slogans of democracy, humanity, and mercy. This is exactly what other tyrants throughout history have done.

'America's Arabs' Urged To Denounce 'Crime'

JN1709181891 Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic
16 Sep 91 pp 1, 17

[Editorial: "The Major Crime"]

[Text] The crimes of the U.S. Administration against Iraq and its people become more evident by the day. After the publication of the Jordanian White Paper, which exposed the role of America's Arabs in inciting and preparing the ground for the American-Zionist aggression against Iraq, the planners and perpetrators of the aggression have made revelations about the ugly premeditated crimes committed against the people, Army, and state of Iraq. U.S. equipment was used to bury thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive under the sand.

After these revelations, we ask obedient and submissive America's Arabs what they think of the United States? Do they need any further evidence that their master, the so-called superpower, is the leading violator of human rights and international norms and conventions? Or are they still, as we know them, the lasting servants of the great Satan and of the residents of the Black House?

While we, along with all lovers of peace and virtue, denounce and condemn this horrible crime, we remind the world of its perpetrators and their new world order, which appears to be a colonialist order in a new uniform. Through this order, they seek to rule the world as they wish and according to their own interests, unheeding peoples' destinies, desires, and sufferings. We, therefore, call on the world's states, governments, organizations, and political parties to denounce this cowardly act, perpetrated by the enemy of humanity, the United States, and its president, who is building his new order on the murder and suffering of peoples.

Arens on Settlements, U.S. Relations

TA1709150391 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
(YOM KIPPUR supplement) in Hebrew 17 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Moshe Arens by Ron Ben-Yishay at the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv on 15 September]

[Text] [YEDI'OT AHARONOT] It seems that the settlements have become a personal issue for President Bush, and that this is the root cause of the acrimony in Israeli-U.S. relations. Would it not be preferable to freeze the settlements for a certain period to improve relations with the United States?

[Arens] You can ask the same question about any issue we disagree upon with the United States. Just six months ago there was an argument with the United States regarding an Israeli operation against Iraq. One could have then asked whether it would not be worthwhile for Israel to have Scuds raining down on our heads but not to annoy the United States by demanding that we take action.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] But we did indeed sit still for the Scuds and refrain from taking action so as not to annoy the United States.

[Arens] But we were very close to launching an operation. It would not be wise for Israel to accept the U.S. position on every issue we disagree on. When we disagree on an issue that pertains to Israel's very survival, I propose that the United States accept Israel's position—of course, after we talk things over and attempt to convince each other.

The opposite is also true. If we disagree on something that is a matter of life and death for the United States, we must accept the American position. Generally speaking, the issues we disagree upon with the United States pertain to the State of Israel's very existence.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Does freezing the settlements really threaten the State of Israel's existence?

[Arens] In the long run—yes. Since the inception of the state, our very existence here has been based on the principle that we have a right to live here. We are not here out of charity nor is this country foreign to us. Any action we take that implies any kind of concession on this right, which has been recognized by the world community, or any form of agreement, no matter how qualified, that this right is limited in any way—affects our very existence here.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] How do you think the current crisis in relations with the United States over Israel's request for loan guarantees for immigrant absorption can be resolved?

[Arens] This is not the first time that there have been disagreements between the executive and legislative

branches in the United States. I assume that this issue will be resolved much as similar disagreements have been resolved in the past.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] You treat this as though it were a domestic U.S. affair. Should we not aspire to some compromise?

[Arens] We need this money now. If there is a compromise, it will be between the White House and the Congress.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Is it not legitimate for the U.S. Administration, which is the one giving Israel the aid, to demand that we accept some of its political positions?

[Arens] If relations between the two countries are really close, aid is given with no strings attached. Of course, the United States has the right to tell us that it will give us aid under certain conditions and will not give us aid under other conditions.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you agree with President Bush's assertion that deferring the decision on the loan guarantees requested by Israel is crucial for U.S. national security?

[Arens] I do not wish to be dragged into an argument with the U.S. President through the media. However, I tend to think that relations between the United States and Israel are so close that, with a certain degree of exaggeration, one could say that what is good for Israel is good for the United States.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] President Bush claimed at his famous news conference that U.S. soldiers risked their lives for Israel's citizens during the Gulf war. Do you accept that?

[Arens] Yes. U.S. soldiers were here, and a Scud could have fallen on their heads. One cannot say that there was not some risk to their lives while they were deployed here.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] The use of firearms in the territories is on the rise, and one can discern a gradual move from the intifadah characterized by street violence to a pattern of armed struggle. Does this not require the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] to change its tactics or strategy in the territories?

[Arens] One must describe this phenomenon accurately. Several armed gangs—we do not know their exact number—have been operating over the past few months, and there have been several incidents in which firearms were used against Israelis. Incidentally, these squads also murder Palestinians. This kind of armed activity has always been going on, even during the intifadah, but now the statistics are pointing to a drop in the number of disturbances, which we had become accustomed to, and a certain rise in the use of grenades and firearms. These armed squads are trying to foil the process of normalization that we are encouraging and which I believe most of

the population wants. This is not the first time that we have encountered these squads in the territories, and we do not need to reinvent the wheel. You certainly do not expect me to tell you exactly what actions we will take, but it is clear that dealing with armed squads is different from handling disturbances by unarmed civilians.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] In the past, you wanted to hold elections in the territories to find a Palestinian leadership with which we could discuss autonomy. You personally invested intensive efforts in this. Has any progress been made on this matter?

[Arens] I think so. Over the last few months relatively large-scale elections have been held in the territories to elect chambers of commerce. The elections were free and democratic by any standards, and I hope that they mark the inculcation of democratic practices into this populace. The next stage may be municipal elections.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] What about afterward? Do you think we will have general elections in the territories?

[Arens] In the Israeli peace initiative of 1989, we proposed elections in the territories in which Palestinian representatives for negotiations would be democratically chosen. If Baker succeeds in convening the peace conference—to which the Palestinian representation will be nominated and not elected—there may no longer be any need to hold such elections until the actual implementation of autonomy.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Are you trying to create an alternative process to the Bush-Baker plan? A process based on elections in the territories and direct negotiations over the autonomy between Israel and elected representatives?

[Arens] I would not phrase it that way. Whether Baker's plan succeeds or not, we must reach agreement and understanding with the Palestinian population. If, as I hope, Baker is successful, then what we are doing (about the elections) will complete the process. But if it becomes apparent that the Baker plan will fail or be rejected, then what we are attempting could be an alternative.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you believe that the Bush-Baker plan will actually get off the ground?

[Arens] I believe that we are very close to the take-off point. There is a very good chance that it will start rolling as planned, but it is very hard to foresee the results. That depends on the Arabs.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] The events in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union prove that it is very hard to keep the nationalist genie bottled up. It escapes from the bottle the moment there is any weakening of the repressive, coercive measures used to suppress it. In light of this fact, is it wise to continue the effort of forcing our rule on the Palestinians? Is it not dangerous in the long run?

[Arens] I would suggest we keep everything in proportion. On the one hand, you have an outburst of active nationalism in Eastern Europe the minute the lid is taken off. On the other hand, in Western Europe nationalism has almost disappeared.

If we look at the history of Europe, we will see that people eventually come to the conclusion that economic problems are more important than ethnic conflicts. Russia was an empire built on force. It was obvious that this empire would crumble as soon as its force became weaker.

I do not think that an ethnic minority in a country under a democratic regime is under the rule of another people, which is the majority. It is very difficult to find countries in the world that do not have minorities. It is not a national tragedy to a minority in a free and democratic country.

There would be no State of Israel without an Arab population, unless you believe in the idea of transfer and want to deport the Arabs. We do not want this, and I think that having a country without any non-Jewish residents is a nightmarish idea.

The existence of a minority is indeed problematic, but we should consider it a challenge and not a threat. Jews and Arabs should live together, and anyone who thinks differently is not realistic.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] How close today are the Arab countries to achieving nuclear capability?

[Arens] Iraq was much closer than we believed to achieving nuclear capability. This has already been discovered by UN experts. The Iranians are also interested in reaching nuclear capability, but we have no information that they are close to such a capability at this stage. They also have missiles. Their missiles cannot reach Israel at this stage, but I assume that they will be able to do so in the future. As for Algeria, they have built a reactor that can produce plutonium, and that is all I can say right now.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] How would you assess Israel's capability to protect itself from these threats today?

[Arens] I think that it will be okay. We have been given resources, and we are investing them in the right directions.

Arens Says Ties With U.S. To Remain 'Good'

TA1609130591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1105 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Text] Defense Minister Moshe Arens was the guest of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee today and said that the argument over the guarantees is between the U.S. Congress and President Bush, although Israel is not indifferent to this argument. Our correspondent Ze'ev Kohen reports from the Knesset:

The meeting today was short. The defense minister is scheduled to hold a series of meetings prior to Secretary Baker's arrival. During the meeting, Minister Arens said that Israeli-U.S. relations will continue to be as good and unique as they have been throughout Israel's existence. There is an argument between the U.S. Congress and the President on the matter of the guarantees, Arens said, expressing his belief that they will find a solution to it.

Arens added: Some of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee members may be disappointed, but the government is going for peace negotiations. This is a slow process, characterized by continual contacts and arguments over procedural issues, but the emerging framework is compatible with the positions of the current government. Arens further stated: Every time there is an argument over a certain issue or each time Baker arrives, the opposition tells us to give in so as not to miss the opportunity for peace. The government, Arens asserted, already put off the request for guarantees from March to September, but the aid is needed now, not in the future. There is an argument—not the first of its kind—between the President and Congress, but while we are not indifferent to it, our concern is that President Bush's remarks that a discussion of the request could affect the peace process may be interpreted in the Arab world as a means to pressure Israel. I am not sure this impression will help the peace process, Arens stated.

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English at 1100 GMT on 16 September carries a similar report, adding that Arens "repeated that Israel will just have to make do if it does not get the guarantees which Israel has requested for immediate assistance."]

Earlier in the meeting, the defense minister referred to the recent terrorist incidents in the territories, saying that 13 soldiers have been killed in Judeaea, Samaria, and Gaza and another seven within the Green Line since the beginning of the intifadah. There are several armed squads in the territories; most of them are concentrated in the Janin area, the Hebron Hills, Ramallah, and the Gaza Strip. There has been a marked increase in the activity of these squads in recent months, aimed at attacking Israeli targets, as well as murdering Palestinians. We are focusing our efforts on locating and capturing these squads, Arens declared, but despite the successes scored so far, there are still some squads at large.

Labor Party Officials View U.S. Aid Linkage

Peres—Linkage 'Unacceptable'

TA1609131991 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew
1230 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Text] Labor Party Chairman Shim'on Peres said today that the U.S. linkage of financial aid with an Israeli political stand is unacceptable. At the same time Peres stressed that we must not embark on a course of rivalry with the United States. Attacking President Bush is a shameful irresponsibility, he said. He added that it is

upsetting and annoying that the government continues investing in the territories. This was reported by our correspondent Sarit Mikha'eli.

Linkage, Likud Policy Opposed

TA1209163591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The Labor Party opposes the U.S. stand on establishing a link between the guarantees and progress in the peace process, Party Secretary Mikha Harish said at the party's bureau meeting this evening. At the same time, the Labor Party rejects the Likud policy of favoring settlements over other important issues in the State of Israel. This was reported by our correspondent Shlomo Raz.

Bush's Suspicions of Shamir 'Political Tragedy'

TA1509132891 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT
in Hebrew 15 Sep 91 p 2

[Editorial by Sever Plotzker: "When the Director General of the World Is Angry"]

[Text] It is nothing personal, and yet—yes, it is personal. The adamant, furious, bellicose tone of President Bush's remarks against the speedy approval of the guarantees to Israel leaves no doubt: George is hurt, offended, impatient, and chiefly mistrustful of Israel's politicians.

This feeling was confirmed yesterday by senior White House officials who leaked to the U.S. media that Bush was simply "tired of Shamir," although perhaps the proper translation should have been "fed up with Shamir."

The fact that he, the U.S. President, and Yitzhaq Shamir, the Israeli prime minister, find it difficult to like each other is definitely detrimental to Israel. Yet the additional fact—Bush's suspicion that the Israeli prime minister's acts are designed to foil the U.S. peace initiative—is more than that; it is a political tragedy.

If the U.S. President believes that the Israeli prime minister is guilty of chutzpah, that is his problem; after all, the citizens of Israel, and not Bush, have to vote for Shamir. Yitzhaq Shamir is not a tyrant who usurped power by a military coup. He was democratically elected, enjoys great popularity, and represents very widespread stands. He is not a charismatic leader, but he is a leader who stands firm with his nation.

However, if the U.S. President believes that the Israeli prime minister has misled the biggest, the only superpower, and is therefore punishing Israel by blocking its financial aid, the situation reflects a rift that has transcended the personal level and has assumed an international dimension. Such a rift is very dangerous to Israel, and equally dangerous to the United States.

As irritating as the White House may find Yitzhaq Shamir's habits, superpowers do not indulge in sulking:

they strive to attain strategic goals. Bush may feel that Israel has not been duly grateful in the wake of the Gulf war, and he may feel that the settlement drive has placed him in a ridiculous light. It is unwise on his part, however, to allow his gut feelings to take over and deflect him from what until a few days ago seemed to be the central goal of his Middle East policy: peace.

So far, the U.S. President has seemed to be the director general of the world, firmly undertaking to bring peace to our region after winning a war in it. We all remember very well the strength emanating from his reserved, well-considered public appearances in the course of the Gulf war. This is how a self-confident leader acts. Last Thursday, however, this image became tarnished and cracked.

Children can "be tired" of things, and lovers "fed up" with each other, but the president of the largest of superpowers cannot allow this to happen. Greek mythology says about Zeus, king of the gods: When he rages, he is wrong.

Just a reminder, Bush.

Baker Seen Opposed to Bush in Policy

TA1309141091 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV (SHABAT Supplement) in Hebrew 13 Sep 91 p B2

[Commentary by Yosef Harif: "Jerusalem: Baker Is Not Behind the Move"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is now doing his utmost to prevent any exacerbation in the confrontation with Israel, which was initiated by President George Bush. Knowing his customers in the Israeli Government, and especially Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, Baker believes that Bush's attempt to teach Israel a lesson may create difficulties and embarrassment for Jerusalem. If this causes a postponement of the Middle East peace conference, however, Yitzhaq Shamir will lose no sleep.

According to protocol, Baker could have been content with sending the prime minister the customary telegram of good wishes for the new year. But Baker was not satisfied with that. On the eve of the holiday, he called Shamir to deliver holiday greetings. Baker was very pleasant on the phone, and one could sense from his tone that had things been up to him, he would not have launched the campaign against Israel in the U.S. Congress, which President Bush started when he appealed to Congress to defer discussion on Israel's request for loan guarantees to absorb Soviet immigrants. During that conversation, Baker did not propose compensating Israel until its request is discussed next December. All Baker could say, in a conciliatory and pleasant tone (Shamir: "He was exceedingly nice on the phone") was that "there was no need for any confrontation...."

"We are definitely not looking for confrontation," Shamir said, "but how can you withhold humanitarian aid and link it to the political process?"

"We will discuss this when I visit Israel," Baker replied.

Shamir had already warned Baker in their first conversation last week that the administration should not take a stand against Israel "in the name of peace." Shamir told Baker that the Arabs would regard such a step as an attempt to twist Israel's arm, only encouraging them to harden their positions. "You are destroying the political process with your own hands," Shamir warned.

Baker rushed to report the conversation to Bush. Perhaps he thought that the matter demanded reconsideration. Bush, however, remained adamant: He had decided to wage a battle. This time the State Department was not behind the anti-Israeli move.

Had Bush listened to Baker's advice, he would not have adopted such a tough position. Baker could perhaps have reminded him that Shamir is not the kind of man to take fright at such a move. One remark voiced during one of the prime minister's consultations last week was that if Washington is determined to force a confrontation on Israel—although a confrontation with the United States is the last thing Israel wanted—it is better to fight them over Soviet immigration than the settlement issue. One of the more moderate ministers, speaking of Bush, said: "He is simply irrational. He is ruled by emotions, which seem to dictate his obsessive attitude toward the settlements."

One of the participants in the consultations said that Bush apparently wants to prove that "as the man who runs the world today," he will know "how to set Israel straight." The President is trying to convince the Arabs that he is on their side, not Israel's, and that it is worth their while to join the political process and stick with it. He wants to show them that he is the boss, in Congress as well.

Now Baker is trying to defend the President's actions. The secretary of state, however, already knows that when he comes here next week he cannot arrive empty-handed. If Baker does not come with a "meaningful compromise proposal," it is doubtful that the political process will survive.

But even if Baker brings a compromise proposal, there is no certainty that the peace conference will be convened next month. In all the uproar surrounding the loan guarantees, it appears to have been forgotten that Baker has still not given a reply on the contents of the memorandum of understanding that he promised Israel, and we still do not know what kind of compromise he will offer instead of the guarantees.

And another "small detail" has been forgotten. Even if Israel and the United States agree on the memorandum of understanding and the guarantees, Baker still has to overcome a no-less complex obstacle—the composition

of the Palestinian delegation. The situation has changed since Baker last visited the region several weeks ago. The Palestinians have toughened their position. They are demanding that Palestinian representation be decided without Israeli intervention (in other words by the PLO) and that the residents of East Jerusalem be represented.

Some people believe that Bush's move was intended precisely to achieve this—a softening of Israel's position on the issues related to the peace conference by blatantly exploiting its economic and security situation and its desperate need for U.S. aid. Logic may be on Bush's side, but there is no guarantee that his move will succeed. He apparently does not realize that Israel will be left with no alternative but to resist.

True, there is a serious problem. How can Israel triumph in this battle? In other words, how can Israel both get the money for immigrant absorption and make sure that the confrontation does not lead to a total rift with the United States? But in seeking to answer this, Washington, will also have to think things over and meet Israel half way.

Foreign Minister David Levi warned his U.S. counterpart Baker against the dangers entailed in the President's actions: "You are taking the risk of dealing Israel a serious economic and social blow. You must realize the danger that if Israel feels weak and unstable, it will be unable to enter complex interactions such as the political process that awaits us."

There is no point in denying the truth behind Bush's open siding with the Arabs. All this talk about acting in "the name of peace" is nothing but lip service. The real meaning is simple: Anything that could "disturb" the convening of the peace conference must be avoided. And therein lies the great danger. At each stage of the negotiations there will be issues that "disturb" the Arab side, the Syrians (the Golan Heights), and the Palestinians (self-determination). Will Israel be expected to foot the bill for every "disturbance?"

This is what bothers Israel. The Egyptians were forgiven a \$7 billion debt, and the administration never even contemplated asking Cairo to take Israel's grievances—such as the nonimplementation of Egypt's repeated commitment to normalization—into account. But when something "disturbs" the Arab side, Israel is the victim. This serious battle was forced upon Israel, but authoritative political circles see a positive side to it. If Israel already has to fight, it is preferable to get it over with before the peace conference begins—and not in the midst of negotiations.

Russian Republic Official Lukin Continues Visit

Meets Prime Minister Shamir

TA1509185391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1800 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir believes that the Soviet Union must establish full diplomatic relations

with Israel to participate in the political process. The USSR, he emphasized, has no problem establishing such ties with us, but for Israel it is urgent. Our political correspondent Arye Golan reports that Mr. Shamir was talking to Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Russian Republic's parliament. The visitor believes it is important the diplomatic ties between Israel and the Russian Republic be established. President Yeltsin told him, moreover, prior to his departure for Israel, that he would be happy to confer with senior Israeli leaders. Mr. Shamir replied that we want close ties with the Russian Republic, but that it is necessary to wait until the problems have been resolved.

Agrees on Economic Pact With 'Proviso'

TA1509171491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1600 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir has agreed in principle to sign a bilateral economic agreement with Russia, although he has added a proviso that the republic settle its problems with the central government in Moscow. Our correspondent Gid'on Remez received this information from Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, following the Russian delegation's meeting with Mr. Shamir.

Lukin added that the prime minister has agreed to Israeli participation, on certain conditions, in an international effort aimed at helping Russia's economy before the approaching winter.

Discusses Ties With Levi

TA1209182391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1705 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Levi said this evening that unless the USSR upgrades its relations with Israel to the full diplomatic level, it will not be able to cosponsor the peace conference with the United States. Levi made the remarks after a meeting with Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian Parliament foreign affairs committee. Our political correspondent Arye Golan reports:

[Begin recording] [Golan] Lukin did not bring David Levi any specific message from Boris Yeltsin, but the Russian president favors the improvement of relations with Israel. When will full diplomatic relations be reestablished? Lukin smiles:

[Lukin, in English] Well, I am sure it is not a matter of yes or no; it is a matter of how rapidly, of what mutual interest should we meet both on this road. Frankly, I think time is coming. The problem is how to do it in the most beneficial manner for both countries, and not to produce some harm to the third parties. It seems to me that trend is clear, and let us discuss how to do this noble objective, how to meet it; to improve our relations and not spoil the relations with other countries.

[Golan translates and continues] Foreign Minister David Levi was far more adamant in his reply:

[Levi] If relations are not reestablished, Israel will not agree that the USSR be one of the cosponsors.

[Golan] Later, Levi leveled harsh criticism at elements who, according to him, issue threats on behalf of the prime minister that Israel will not attend the peace conference if it does not get the guarantees.

[Levi] Attributing this to the prime minister is sheer nonsense. Are we going to this conference for money? What is this? Those who said it harm Israel's interests and image. Declarations that put together these two issues must not be made here. What good does it do? It only causes damage. [end recording]

Party Delegation Returns From PRC

TA1209114391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1100 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] In talks held by a MAPAM [United Workers Party] delegation in Beijing, the hosting officials expressed flexible stands on questions pertaining to the Middle East peace process. Although they were adamant that an international conference should be convened, they said that the Palestinians, too, have to cede some of their demands regarding opening conditions.

MAPAM Secretary El'azar Granot, head of the delegation, told our correspondent Gid'on Remez that both the deputy prime minister and the deputy foreign minister of China spoke in an apologetic tone when referring to the absence of diplomatic relations with Israel and the sale of Chinese weapons to Arab countries.

Although the delegation returned last night feeling that progress in relations with the PRC can be expected, it received no explicit message to that effect.

Policy Conflict Between UNIFIL, IDF

TA1509081691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
0505 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Report by Hayim Hecht]

[Text] The question of who started the shooting in the 13 September incident on the Lebanese shore is still unsolved. It shows, however, that there is a serious and essential disagreement between UNIFIL [UN Interim Force in Lebanon] and the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. The UN forces maintain that if an incident can be ended without bloodshed, this direction must be sought. The IDF knows: A situation where terrorists who came on a murder mission are allowed to return to their bases in peace and with a smile must never be permitted.

The terrorists who wished to kill Jews in Nahariyya and lost their way realized that they were holding French and Swedish hostages who could be their passport to freedom. The French commander conducted negotiations with them, and it is reasonable to assume that the terrorists would have surrendered to him. As is well known, fire was opened during the negotiations.

In his report home, a senior Swedish officer stated that he believes that the IDF and SLA [South Lebanese Army] soldiers who closed in on the building where the negotiations took place explicitly wanted the hostage affair to end with the terrorists surrendering under fire. The Swedish officer is, therefore, blaming the shooting on the IDF and SLA.

SLA headquarters says that their soldiers started shooting only after they were shot at. The SLA soldiers shot at clearly visible terrorists, and at the time of the shooting they were unaware of the fact that hostages were being held inside the building.

An IDF officer told me: We might find ourselves in the ridiculous situation where the UNIFIL soldiers and headquarters provide a sanctuary for the terrorists. For example, the three terrorists who landed at the al-Naqura beach were handed over to the Lebanese Army. SLA headquarters tried to prevent the terrorists from being taken to Beirut, and imposed a closure on UNIFIL headquarters in al-Naqura. General Lahd's deputy told the UNIFIL commander that the siege would be imposed until the terrorists were handed over to them. Eventually, the terrorists were taken to Beirut by an Italian helicopter.

Two 'Terrorists' Captured in Clash

TA1209111791 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1000 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] Two Palestinian terrorists belonging to Abu-Nidal's [Sabri al-Banna] organization were captured in a clash with an SLA [South Lebanese Army] unit in the security zone in south Lebanon. Two SLA soldiers were injured by terrorist gunfire.

Our correspondent Hayim Hecht reports that the clash occurred near the village of Mays al-Jabal, about 500 meters north of the Israeli border.

'Terrorist' Explains Planned Nahariyya Raid

TA1409185291 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English
1800 GMT 14 Sep 91

[Text] One of the terrorists captured after taking UN soldiers hostage in south Lebanon yesterday says he and his group belong to Yasir 'Arafat's Fatah organization. He said the group was trained in Libya before going to Lebanon where they were supposed to launch a sea attack against the Israeli coastal town of Nahariyya. The terrorist provided the details at a news conference today. Reporter Alan Ben-Ami was there:

Rabi'a 'Abd-al-Shabab is a 21-year-old Palestinian born in Jordan. Small, dark haired, with a thin moustache and beard, and dressed in blue overalls, he told his story tonight to a group of Israeli and foreign newsmen. 'Abd-al-Shabab said he joined Yasir 'Arafat's Fatah organization in Jordan in October 1989. He was sent to Baghdad and then to Libya.

Last year he began an intensive training course together with six other Fatah men. According to 'Abd-al-Shabab, the group were trained by a Libyan officer in the use of weapons and explosives and how to sail small boats. Three months ago, he was sent from Libya to Lebanon via Syria, and last week was told that he would be taking part in a sea attack against Israelis in the northern coastal town of Nahariyya. The group sailed from the port of Sidon after getting weapons and their rubber dinghies from Shaykh Hakram Hawari, a Fatah leader there. They were also told that if they were captured they should not say they were from Fatah but that they belonged to a peace organization.

According to the terrorist, the gang had problems with their navigation equipment after setting out from Sidon to sail down the coast to Israel. Unsure where they were, they landed on the coast, saw a group of people nearby, and took them captive. Their prisoners were UN soldiers out for a morning jog and unarmed. According to the United Nations, three gunmen had landed earlier in a rubber dinghy beside UN headquarters on the beach at al-Naqrurah just north of Israel, and they were captured by UN soldiers without difficulty. A second group of three men, including 'Abd-al-Shabab, armed with Kalashnikov rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, and other weaponry, landed about a kilometer away, and it was they, apparently, who captured the unarmed UN men.

It is at this point that a contradiction arises between 'Abd-al-Shabab's version of events and that of the UN people. According to the terrorists, as the gang began moving off with their prisoners they were alarmed by movement near a building not far away. We opened fire, said 'Abd-al-Shabab, and were shot back at; there was a lot of shooting, and I was captured and taken by the Israelis. The United Nations says the shooting began only after the gang and their captives had moved into the building, and that South Lebanese Army soldiers surrounding the area opened fire after a Palestinian came out of the building when a French UN officer began negotiations for the release of the hostages. One UN officer and one terrorist were killed, and others were wounded in the shoot-out.

The contradictions remain unresolved at this point. 'Abd-al-Shabab gave his version twice, to Arabic-speaking Israeli reporters and through an interpreter to foreign newsmen. The UNIFIL [UN Interim Force in Lebanon] spokesman tonight insisted that the UN version of events is the correct one.

Bomb in Beersheba Market Injures Two

TA1609104291 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew
1030 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Text] Two people were injured when a bomb went off in the Beersheba market some 90 minutes ago. One man was slightly injured in the leg and taken to Soroka Hospital, and a woman's hand injury was treated on the spot. Our correspondent Roni Sofer reports that the police have sealed off the area and have detained some 30 suspects for questioning.

Peace Activist Convicted for Meeting 'Arafat

TA1209123591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1200 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] The Ramla Magistrate's Court has convicted Abie Nathan upon his admission of meetings with terrorist organization members. The sentence will be handed down within three months.

The prosecution contended that despite the one-year suspended sentence he had received, Abie Nathan held two meetings with 'Arafat in Tunisia. The prosecution said that Abie Nathan has harmed Israel's security, as well as the rule of law.

The defense attorney said that the defendant's meetings did not harm state security and that the nature of the replies he received from 'Arafat show that the meetings damaged neither state security nor Israel's political position.

August Index Puts Inflation at 23.5 Percent

TA1509151691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew
1500 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Text] The August consumer price index rose by 2.1 percent, the highest August record in five years. Our correspondent 'Ofra Nehmad reports that the housing index increased by approximately 5 percent, fruit and vegetables by more than 10 percent, and clothing and footwear by 2.2 percent. In the past 12 months, the index has risen 21.6 percent, putting the current annual rate of inflation at 23.5 percent. The consumer basket of an average urban family now stands at 3,120 shekels without counting housing costs; 4,150 shekels if housing is included.

Histadrut Secretary General Yisra'el Qeysar said in reaction that this index bodes ill and that clearly there is a real inflationary escalation. He told our correspondent Sheli Yehimovich that the government must revise its budget and direct resources to the creation of additional jobs rather than continuing to build in the territories.

The chairman of the Industrialists Association said that the index is worrisome. He believes the government has failed to curb inflation and must handle the matter urgently.

Al-Nusur on Peace Process, Palestinians

JN1709122391 Amman Jordan Television Network
in Arabic 1727 GMT 16 Sep 91

["Special Report" by Political Affairs Correspondent Kassab Samawi on Foreign Minister 'Abdallah al-Nusur's "meeting" with Jordanian journalists on 16 September in Amman; recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Al-Nusur] We are still in possession of strong and important cards, necessary for survival, not least clarity of vision and national unity. [passage omitted]

[Samawi] Dr. al-Nusur's remarks to the Jordanian journalists dealt with the nature of the present stage Jordan and the region are experiencing and the economic and political repercussions of the Gulf war and its impact on the Arabs. [passage omitted]

The foreign minister talked about the peace efforts being made to find a peaceful solution to the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict and Jordan's role as a key player in the peace process.

[Al-Nusur] The U.S. secretary of state has been to the region seven times, simply because this is the place where the Palestine question must be solved. The idea is to bring peace to the region, and should it fail, the Arabs, and preferably the Palestinians, will take the blame. What is there between us and Israel? It is the Palestine question, rather than a bilateral issue as some would have us believe. [passage omitted]

Jordanians of Jordanian descent ask: Then, why should we go to the conference when we say that this question is owned by other people. Let them go, supported and blessed by us. Let them negotiate and regain what they can from their homeland. We will facilitate matters for them as much as we can. Why should we Jordanians go to the peace conference? What do we want? We will either recognize the enemy, be accused of treachery, or be stained by this story, then why should we go? The question is justified and is on the mind of hundreds of thousands of people. The person who asks the question has every right to ask it. Why should I at this phase have more blame and doubts? Why should I? The person who asks this question is in fact asking a legitimate and logical question because he has to ask another question: What if I do not go to the conference? And, can I not go? Do I have any alternative? I am in a democratic phase, in which the masters of the world would tell me: We are in a world, which we like to be democratic, so let us have a vote. Would you like to go to the conference. Yes, I want to go, but you do not want to, then fine. The man does not want to go, can I force him! That is the meaning of voting, is it not? I wish that life were that easy, and that we had alternatives in our hand. Jordan should not obstruct this solution of the seven tours. Jordan received the U.S. envoy only on his fifth tour.

Brothers and sisters, Jordan has no illusions about its ability and resources to stand fast. Jordan sees the implicit and explicit pressures exerted against it. It also knows that it will face hard days. Anyone who thinks otherwise will be disillusioned. Those who pause at the question I have mentioned a few minutes ago mix between the position Jordan adopted during the Gulf crisis and a similar position which they want it to take in the battle for the peace conference. They think that popular unity in this case will be the same as it was during the Gulf war. They also think that we can, if we unite and stand shoulder to shoulder, stand fast without caring about any one. Those who say this may be right if what we are facing was similar to the Gulf war. [passage omitted]

Those who want us not to take note of the peace proposals are in fact asking us not to take the same position we took during the Gulf crisis, but are asking us to take Iraq's position during the Gulf crisis. Such a position would take us very close—and I hope no one would quote me here—to suicide. Peace in itself is precious, honorable, and desired. [passage omitted]

The PLO has not made a decision yet, but it will decide very soon. Would it be to attend within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation? We do not know, although we welcome such an idea. In an independent Palestinian delegation? We do not know, and, maybe, we do not think so, but we agree to that. Does the PLO want a joint Arab delegation comprising all parties? I do not think so, but we do not object to that? Does the PLO intend not to go? I do not know, but again we do not object. Very briefly, our position means an understanding of the dangers, and that our alternatives are limited, very limited. However, we announce that we are not the PLO, we do not try to bypass it, and that it has the right to make its own choice and nominate whoever it wishes, wherever he may have been born, and raise whatever issues it wishes to raise, at head of which is Jerusalem, because the Arab individual—Christian or Muslim—who would certify any document saying that Jerusalem is not Arab has not yet been born.

[Samawi] Following this meeting, a comprehensive and wide-ranging question and answer session took place in which Foreign Minister Dr. 'Abdallah al-Nusur answered questions and queries posed by Jordanian journalists. The questions dealt mainly with the nature of the phase and the challenges facing Jordan and the region, and developments in the peace process, as well as the latest political developments.

[Al-Nusur] The Palestinian people are represented by their legitimate organization, the PLO. We absolutely do not have any new position in this regard, and there is no change in our policy. We are waiting for the written, public, and frank sign from the PLO as regards its right to nominate its delegation. We have always stated that no one has the right to ask where a certain Palestinian delegation member was born, because, if others start going to extremes with this question, we also have the

right to ask where the person sitting on the opposite side of the table was born. [passage omitted]

Further on al-Nusur's Remarks

JN1709124191 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
17 Sep 91 pp 1,5

[By JORDAN TIMES staff reporter Lamis K. Andoni]

[Excerpt] Amman—Jordan is expecting U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who visits Amman this week, to confirm previous American assurances to Jordan that the proposed Middle East peace conference will be based on the principles outlined by President George Bush on March 8, Foreign Minister 'Abdallah al-Nusur said Monday.

"The conference should not be inconsistent with President Bush's initiative," Dr. al-Nusur told Jordanian journalists Monday at a meeting held at the Jordan's Press Association (JPA).

Dr. al-Nusur revealed that during his last visit to Jordan, Mr. Baker had assured Jordan that the U.S. remained committed to the principles outlined by Mr. Bush regarding the basis of an Arab-Israeli settlement, but that Jordan was waiting for written assurances. "We were given verbal assurances. We want written ones," said Dr. al-Nusur.

According to Dr. al-Nusur, the verbal American assurances are the following:

- The peace conference will be based on United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which clearly involve exchanging land for peace.
- American commitment to what Mr. Bush said in March concerning the need to recognise the Palestinian people's political and legitimate rights.

Dr. al-Nusur emphasised the significance of the recognition of the political rights of the Palestinians.

- The conference will be based on respect for secure borders for all the parties involved.
- The objective of peace in the region involves demilitarisation of all parties in the region—a principle outlined by Mr Bush.
- The U.S. does not recognise Israel's annexation of Jerusalem.

Jordan has also asked for assurances that Jerusalem would not be excluded from the negotiations and that the conference would take into consideration the Palestinian right to repatriation in accordance with the U.N. resolutions.

Dr. al-Nusur indicated that Jordan expected Mr. Baker to confirm these assurances and that understanding between Jordan and the U.S. to further develop following the U.S. administration's decision to seek to delay discussions on Israeli request for \$10 billion in loan.

He said that the American position indicated that both Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker were serious about the peace process. "We believe that Mr. Bush's position is serious and should be trusted," he said describing the American president's insistence on postponing congressional discussion, on Israel's request as an unprecedented step by a U.S. president.

Despite the encouraging signal emanating from the U.S., Dr. al-Nusur repeatedly stressed during the meeting that Jordan had no illusions about the outcome of the peace conference but is seeking the best conditions possible to secure the well-being and stability of Jordan and Palestinian national rights.

However, he said, there should be no Arab-Israel negotiations without Palestinian approval. "We have not and we shall not accept any Arab-Israeli negotiations without Palestinian approval," he pledged.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) has not yet given its authorisation for Palestinian participation in the peace conference. The organisation is expected to declare its position, or at least the basis of Palestinian participation, at the Palestine National Council, which is expected to be held in Algiers next week.

Dr. al-Nusur implied that Jordan was expecting a positive PLO position on the issue of Palestinian participation within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. But he stressed that Jordan would accept any decision that the PLO would reach and that no party has the right to intervene in naming or appointing the Palestinian delegates.

He said that Jordan's resentment and rejection of any interference in naming the Palestinian delegation was conveyed very clearly to Mr. Baker during his last visit here. "The PLO has the right to name whoever it wants from whatever town and to raise whatever issues it wants to raise, especially concerning the status of Jerusalem," Dr. al-Nusur stressed.

Reaffirming Jordan's strong commitment to the Arab identity of east Jerusalem, Dr. al-Nusur stressed: "No Arab, Muslim or Christian can claim that Jerusalem is not Arab."

Dr. al-Nusur emphasised that Jordan's position was based on a realistic approach that takes into consideration the regional and international balance that resulted from the collapse of the Soviet Union and Iraq's defeat in the Gulf war. He implied that Jordan was trying to reconcile between a strategy that will ensure its well-being under the growing political and economic pressures it has been placed under and a dignified stand that will not negotiate away the Arab national rights.

"We realise that there is a big gap between reality and illusions," he said. "But our top priority should be to preserve our homeland and to attain what the Palestinian national rights that are attainable (at this stage)." [sentence as published]

Dr. al-Nusur was indirectly responding to widespread scepticism among Jordanians that the suggested peace conference will not meet the minimum Palestinian national aspirations. Indicating full awareness and understanding of the public scepticism and mood, Dr. al-Nusur warned that doubts about the peace process should not be allowed to disrupt national unity and the democratisation process. [passage omitted]

Minister, UK Official Discuss Peace Efforts

JN1709163691 Amman Radio Jordan Network
in Arabic 1100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Dr. 'Abdallah al-Nusur received at his office today Patrick Fairweather, deputy under secretary of state for Middle Eastern and African Affairs at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. During the meeting, they reviewed regional developments as well as the efforts under way to find a peaceful settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestine question. They also discussed relations between the two countries.

Prime Minister Confers With Iranian Official

JN1709143691 Amman Radio Jordan Network
in Arabic 1100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] This morning, Prime Minister Tahir al-Masri received at his office in the Prime Ministry Mohammad Kazem Asadi-Khonsari, Iranian Foreign Ministry adviser and director of the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Iranian Foreign Ministry.

During the meeting, they reviewed the latest regional developments and exchanged views on various regional and international issues of common interest. They also discussed means of enhancing and consolidating ties between the two Islamic states in the interests of the two friendly peoples of Jordan and Iran.

Iranian Official Ends Visit

JN1709144791 Amman Radio Jordan Network
in Arabic 1100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Mohammad Kazem Asadi-Khonsari, Iranian Foreign Ministry adviser and director of the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Iranian Foreign Ministry, concluded his official visit to Jordan today. During his visit, he relayed a message to His Majesty King Husayn from His Excellency Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani. He also met with His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan, Prime Minister Tahir al-Masri, House of Representatives Speaker Dr. 'Abdallah al-Latif 'Arabiyyat, and Foreign Minister Dr. 'Abdallah al-Nusur. Our correspondent Jawad al-'Umari met and interviewed Asadi-Khonsari.

[Begin recording] [Al-'Umari] You held several meetings with Jordanian officials. What are the results of these meetings and talks?

[Asadi-Khonsari] First, I would like to send my heartfelt greetings to the fraternal Muslim Jordanian people. During this visit, which was made at the invitation of our brothers in Jordan, I met with senior officials in this dear country. The most important meeting I held was with His Majesty King Husayn. Similarly, I met with His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hasan Bin-Talal. Moreover, I met with Prime Minister Tahir al-Masri, the foreign minister and House of Representatives Speaker 'Arabiyyat. God be praised, the talks in all of these meetings were permeated by a fraternal and sincere atmosphere.

Our talks touched on overall regional and international issues, especially the Islamic nation's central issue; namely, the Palestine question. We also reviewed the means to support the blessed intifadah and confront the conspiracies being hatched by the Zionist enemy and those supporting it. Within this context, I relayed a message from His Excellency Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani to his majesty the king on the Palestine question. Moreover, I conveyed a written invitation from Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi, speaker of the Iranian Islamic Consultative Assembly, to Speaker 'Arabiyyat asking him to participate, along with some of his brother members of the House of Representatives, in an international conference sponsored by the Iranian Islamic Consultative Assembly in October on supporting Palestine and the blessed intifadah. The conference will meet for four days. Most parliament speakers in Islamic states, as well as members of these parliaments, will take part in this conference. Furthermore, figures, thinkers, and mujahidin in the Islamic world, especially Palestinians, will take part in this conference. Additionally, non-Muslim figures and thinkers who are sympathetic to the Palestine question will also be invited to participate.

We discussed bilateral ties with all officials. God be praised, the two sides are satisfied with the course of these ties, which were reestablished a few months ago following a visit to Tehran by Prime Minister Tahir al-Masri when he was the foreign minister of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. These ties were crowned last month by the establishment of economic ties providing for trade exchanges in the interest of the two peoples and countries when the Jordanian industry and trade minister visited Tehran. During this visit, a joint agreement was signed on this issue. We hope that future prospects for cooperation will be better than they used to be in the past, God willing.

[Al-'Umari] God willing. Thank you sir.

[Asadi-Khonsari] May God's peace be upon you. [end recording]

U.S. Accused of Bargaining Over Ad, Ship

JN1709143191 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic
17 Sep 91 p 3

["To the Point" column by Ahmad Dhiban: "Continued Flagrant Interference"]

[Text] The story of what happened to the Jordanian trader, Muhammad Hasan al-Nahhas, should be known by all, especially officials, because it is a very simple example of continued U.S. arrogance and the siege of al-'Aqabah port as part of the punishment for Jordan's position during the Gulf crisis and its rejection of aggression on Iraq.

What happened to al-Nahhas? He published an advertisement in local newspapers on Wednesday 28 August 1991 in which he called, in his private capacity, for a meeting of all those harmed by the siege of al-'Aqabah port that same afternoon to discuss how to respond to the U.S. siege of al-'Aqabah port.

Surprisingly, on Tuesday evening and before the advertisement was published on Wednesday morning, the U.S. Embassy contacted brother Muhammad al-Nahhas, the advertisement publisher, and suggested that he publish "a small advertisement" canceling the meeting. In return, the U.S. Navy would permit the ship Efdim Junior, which was carrying goods for al-Nahhas, to enter al-'Aqabah port.

Is there any doubt that the advertisement was smuggled to the U.S. Embassy before it was published in the newspapers? This indicates how deeply our society has been penetrated. It may be difficult to detect how advertisement was smuggled because advertisements go through different stages before they are published. The advertisement starts with its source, whether an individual or an establishment, then goes to one of the advertisement offices, then to the unified office, and then to the newspapers. During all these stages several people have access to the requested advertisements.

What is important is that al-Nahhas refused to bargain with the U.S. Embassy or to strike a deal with it, and insisted on convening the meeting, which was held as scheduled. A committee was formed at the meeting called "The Committee of Those Harmed by the al-'Aqabah Port Siege." However, the Americans have acted maliciously. After they twice denied entry into al-'Aqabah port for Efdim Junior, which cost the traders who have goods on board more than \$300,000, they

allowed it to dock at the port on the third time. One of the two U.S. ships assigned to besiege al-'Aqabah port anchored near the ship and spoke to its captain in English saying: "It seems that you have no problems anymore." As brother al-Nahhas says, the embassy seems to have issued instructions to allow the ship to enter the port in an attempt to contain the protest and the clamor, and to stop any escalation of resistance to the U.S. siege. This is but one incident.

Brother al-Nahhas refers to what he calls media deception by repeating the figure of \$15 million as Jordan's losses from the siege of al-'Aqabah port. In fact this figure is the sum paid to U.S. ships as an inspection fee by ships trying to enter al-'Aqabah port. They are besieging us and they get fees for the siege, what a paradox!! The real losses to the Jordanian economy due to the presence of the two U.S. ships is more than \$350 million.

Some may justify the American arrogance and disdain for international legitimacy and laws after all that they have accomplished on the international level. Others may believe that there is no use confronting and resisting them as long as big powers, like the Soviet Union, have allowed them to interfere in their internal affairs, and even participate in drawing up their policies. The Americans want to make the world, whether states or individuals, feel that they have everything in their hands—feeding or starving human beings, and maybe killing and resurrecting them.

However, an advertisement by an individual has annoyed the U.S. Embassy in Amman. They contacted and bargained with him. This confirms that the means to resist U.S. arrogance has not yet vanished, and that the Americans make concessions to popular efforts.

Al-Nahhas, who deserves to be greeted and appreciated for his stance, is not alone. He is an individual from a entire people, and before him the al-Salt Mayor Dr. 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Nusur and the municipal council recorded an honorable stance when they refused to receive the U.S. ambassador at the municipality. There are many other examples.

UK Hostage Release Tied to 'Ubayd's Release*NC1809091991 Paris AFP in English 0838 GMT
18 Sep 91*

[Text] Beirut, Sept 18 (AFP)—The holders of Western hostages in Lebanon are demanding U.N. guarantees that Israel will free Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ubayd before they release one of their British captives, a Shiite cleric disclosed Wednesday.

Shaykh Ahmad Talib, spiritual leader of Shaykh 'Ubayd's village in southern Lebanon, told the Lebanese Communist party newspaper AN-NIDA' that "the release of a British hostage is conditional on a commitment supplied by United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar that Shaykh 'Ubayd will be among the next prisoners freed by Israel."

If it accurately reflects the feelings of the kidnappers, Shaykh Talib's disclosure will add a new snag to the current step-by-step procedure under which Israel frees its Muslim prisoners in exchange for the release of Westerners in Lebanon. "Israel will soon set free a new group of prisoners on condition that a hostage is released," according to Shaykh Talib. "But if they (the kidnappers) don't get the guarantees, the matter will be complicated."

Shaykh 'Ubayd was seized by Israeli troops from his home village of Jibshit in July 1989 and is among 350 mainly Shiite prisoners held by Israel that the kidnappers want released.

Hopes that another Westerner would be freed soon soared last week after Israel released 51 of its detainees. Repeated reports here from various Shiite sources said the captive to be let go would be Briton Jack Mann. But Shiite leaders since then have dampened enthusiasm, stressing that Israel would have to free more prisoners before another of the 10 Westerners in captivity would be liberated.

Kidnappers also hold another Briton, five Americans, two Germans and one Italian.

Hostage To Be Released Soon*LD1809103391 Tehran IRNA in English 1017 GMT
18 Sep 91*

[Text] Beirut, Sept. 18, IRNA—Another Western hostage in Beirut will be released in the next few hours, informed sources said here early Wednesday afternoon. The sources added "It seems that the retired British pilot Jack Mann stands a better chance of release among other Western hostages." [passage indistinct]

Few Militia Integrating Into Armed Forces*NC1809071591 Paris AFP in English 0615 GMT
18 Sep 91*

[Text] Beirut, Sept 18 (AFP)—The Lebanese armed forces, consolidating their grip over their war-weary

country, this week launched a programme to incorporate members of the formerly all-powerful militia groups—but the initial intake was considerably lower than expected. In April, when the government felt confident enough to decree the dissolution of the militias, it announced that it would take in 20,000 of their members into the armed forces.

The induction operation that began on Monday, however, has so far only resulted in 3,187 would-be recruits, who are due to be processed by Saturday. The young men gather in the courtyard of the Beirut race track, astride what until recently was the demarcation line between the Muslim west and the Christian east of the city. From there they are taken in lorries to special "social rehabilitation" camps, through which they must pass before being accepted.

The government and the militia leaders have been blaming each other for the relative lack of success of the operation. The militia leaders, most of whom have ministerial posts, accuse the government of having accepted too few of their members, in comparison with the number of recruits they had asked for. And it seems clear that many government and army officials fear that a massive intake of former militia members could harm the unity of the armed forces. However, sources close to the government hint that it was the militia leaders who twisted the figures by announcing more potential recruits than they were in fact able to deliver.

That accusation is mainly aimed at the Christian Lebanese Forces [LF] militia, which had asked for 20,000 of its members to be absorbed. The government said it would take 6,000, but even that figure has proved to be far too high. Only a trickle of LF members have shown up at the recruiting centres, which have been overwhelmingly patronised by members of the Muslim community. The most eager to join up have been the members of the Shiite Muslim Amal militia, whose members are mostly drawn from poorer sections of Lebanese society.

The government had nevertheless hoped to make its induction programme a model for "national unification" between the religious-based groups that tore the country apart for 16 years. "These young people, who come from 20 different political currents, will be mingled together with the aim of melding them," said Brigadier Michel Meayke, [name as received] who was supervising the operation. "We have used a computer to make sure that the mixing is scientifically based," he added proudly. "Men from all political, geographical and confessional backgrounds will be grouped together in the same base."

The training provided will not be strictly military, but it will be national, human and social, because our country needs soldiers with integrity," he added. However many former militia members, although they lack any type of professional qualifications, are less than keen to submit to military discipline. "I'd rather do just about anything else—or even leave the country," said one of them.

Al-Asad, UAE President Begin Talks

JN1709171691 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic
Radio Network in Arabic 1415 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Presidents Hafiz al-Asad and Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan met at Tishrin Palace immediately after Shaykh Zayid had arrived in Damascus at noon today.

The meeting was attended on the Syrian side by Vice Presidents 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam and Dr. Muhammad Zuhayr Mashariqah; Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi; Mahmud Qaddur and Dr. Salim Yasin, deputy prime ministers for services affairs and economic affairs respectively; Interior Minister Dr. Muhammad Harbah; Information Minister Muhammad Salman; Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs; and Syrian ambassador in Abu Dhabi Mustafa 'Umran.

On the United Arab Emirates [UAE] side, the meeting was attended by members of the official delegation accompanying the UAE president. They are: Ahmad Khalifah al-Suwaydi 'Ali, personal representative of Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan; Dr. Mani' Sa'id al-'Utaybah, adviser to the UAE president; Interior Minister Major General Hammudah Bin-'Ali; Foreign Minister Rashid 'Abdallah al-Nu'aymi; Information Minister Khalfan Muhammad al-Rumi; Khamis Bati al-Rumays, director of his highness the UAE president's office; His Highness Shaykh 'Isa Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan, son of his highness the president; and UAE ambassador to Syria Khalifah Shanin al-Mari. [passage omitted]

'Closed Meeting' Continues

JN1709191491 Damascus Syrian Arab Television
Network in Arabic 1730 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad and His Highness Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan, president of the United Arab Emirates [UAE], resumed their talks at 1815 today in a closed meeting held at the People's Palace. The talks dealt with Middle East developments, the situation in the Gulf region, and issues of common interest.

Foreign Minister Confers With UAE Minister

JN1709191991 Damascus Syrian Arab Television
Network in Arabic 1730 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs, this evening received Rashid 'Abdallah al-Nu'aymi, foreign minister of the fraternal United Arab Emirates [UAE]. Syrian ambassador to the UAE Mustafa 'Umran and UAE ambassador to Syria Khalifah Shanin al-Mari attended.

During the meeting, talks dealt with developments in the Arab and international arenas and the means of cementing the ties of brotherhood and cooperation between the two fraternal countries.

Fate of Peace Depends on Seriousness of U.S.

JN1209071991 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic
Radio Network in Arabic 0330 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the press review]

[Text] AL-BA'TH discusses U.S. secretary of state's seventh tour of the region and the fate of the peace conference, which the United States has initiated and announced its determination to continue by holding a peace conference in October. The paper says: This is the U.S. secretary of state's seventh tour of the region. It means, for one thing, that the United States is determined not to abandon the peace process it has started, and for another, that some problems and obstacles are yet to be solved to pave the way to the peace process.

AL-BA'TH reviews the obstacles and problems that emerged during the past tours. It explains that the Arab sides cooperated with U.S. efforts to bring about a just and comprehensive peace in the region. The problems and obstacles, stresses the paper, have been created by Israel since the first tour of the U.S. secretary of state.

The paper refers to Secretary Baker's past statements that whenever he came to the region, Shamir's government received him with the establishment of a new settlement. No tour was accomplished without Shamir's government fabricating new obstacles and problems. The paper wonders whether Baker's new visit to Israel will be any better this time, and asks: For how long will Israel continue to blackmail, defy, and abort the peace process?

The paper goes on to say: Shamir may come up with new conditions to hinder the peace process yet further. Shamir's government is the enemy of peace, and it works against attempts to bring about peace in the Middle East. AL-BA'TH concludes: The fates of peace and the peace conference are primarily dependent on how serious the United States will be in its dealing with Shamir's government, and on whether it will actually respond, or otherwise yield, to Israel's provocation. U.S. credibility concerning the entire peace process is put to the test. The result will soon appear, for, the U.S. secretary of state's seventh tour, and the proposed date of the peace conference, are imminent.

Israeli Moves To 'Blackmail' World, U.S. Noted

JN1309175391 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic
Radio in Arabic 0330 GMT 12 Sep 91

[From the press review]

[Text] Discussing the same theme from another angle, AL-THAWRAH writes: Every pronouncement by enemy leaders since international efforts to activate the regional peace process began has shown Israel to be frivolous toward international values, norms, laws, and the will of the international community to promote a fair and comprehensive peace resting on UN Security Council resolutions; above all Resolutions 242 and 338.

The paper said that Syria's adroitness, which has exposed Israel's aggressive nature and the hollowness of its claims, have put the Shamir government on the spot and made it say yes to the peace conference, expected to convene in October. At the same time, Israel set about creating obstacles to get the conference either postponed or abandoned altogether.

AL-THAWRAH went on to assert that Israel thus confirms not only its rejection of peace but an inherent anti-peace bent. Israel's idea of peace is Arab capitulation to its expansionist notions at the expense of Arab rights and territory. What is most worrisome about Israeli moves paralleling international efforts to attain peace is a mix of maneuvers, prevarication, and trickery deployed by Israel to blackmail the entire world, including the United States.

Israeli Policy Opposes U.S. National Interests

JN1709164491 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic
Radio Network in Arabic 0330 GMT 17 Sep 91

[From the press review]

[Text] Under the headline "The Meaning of the Loans Battle," AL-THAWRAH says: The battle between the U.S. Administration on one hand and Israel and the Jewish lobby on the other to postpone loan guarantees reveals that Israel not only rejects peace, its efforts, and components, but also practices a policy of blackmail on the U.S. Administration contrary to the national interests of the American people, to the objectives of the U.S. foreign policy, and to its positive ongoing moves to achieve peace in the Middle East.

AL-THAWRAH says: The U.S. Administration realized at the outset of this battle that agreeing to the Israeli request for guarantees of \$10 billion in loans will cast doubts on U.S. credibility and expose the peace efforts—in which the U.S. Administration plays a major role—to failure. This is because these loans will support large-scale Zionist settlement building, which constitutes a basic and serious obstacle to peace and its efforts, as acknowledged by the U.S. Administration itself. Therefore, President Bush made his decision to postpone the discussion of the Israeli request for four months only.

AL-THAWRAH adds: Despite the mildness [tawadu'] of the U.S. decision—as it postpones the discussion of the request without completely canceling it—Israel created a big clamor and issued its orders to the Zionist lobby to put pressure on President Bush's administration. It wagered on the U.S. Administration's retreat from its decision.

Concluding, AL-THAWRAH says: In this light, U.S. national interests and the importance of achieving peace in the Middle East call for the U.S. Administration to deepen its independent course from the Israeli policy ambition and make Israel understand that establishing peace on the basis of international legitimacy is a world decision that cannot be opposed or obstructed by Israel or any other force.

'Israeli Plot' To Undermine Peace Reported

JN1809101491 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0730 GMT
18 Sep 91

[Text] Damascus, 18 Sep (SANA)—In its editorial today under the headline "An Act of Plotting," AL-THAWRAH says that several dimensions have emerged in the open crisis of confrontation that erupted several days ago between the U.S. Administration and Israel because the former opposed, while the latter insisted on, the U.S. Congress's immediate discussion of U.S. loan guarantees to Israel worth \$10 billion to be spent on settling Zionist immigrants coming from the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the occupied Arab territories.

The paper adds that most of the dimensions of the crisis are new, and that they have quickly multiplied and taken a serious course. The U.S.-Israeli differences in views and conflicting stands have never reached this level since the establishment of the Zionist entity four decades ago.

The paper concludes: The crisis that Israel insisted on creating in the face of the United States by insisting on getting loan guarantees should not be viewed only in terms of its dangerous repercussions regarding relations between the Zionist entity and the United States. It is, by everybody's confession, the biggest Israeli plot to undermine the serious endeavor toward achieving just peace in the region and finish it off before October when the Mideast peace conference is scheduled to convene.

Afghanistan

'Sources': Talks Without Najibollah Not New

BK1709155491 Hong Kong AFP in English 1528 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Kabul, Sept 17 (AFP)—Kabul's agreement to participate in an intra-Afghan dialogue without President Najibollah at the table does not represent a new stand, government sources said here Tuesday.

"We have put forward no new proposition," a senior official said, commenting on a statement by Pakistan Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Mohammad Khan Monday.

Khan told a press conference in Islamabad that Kabul had indicated that in a dialogue between the warring Afghan sides on seeking a peaceful solution to the war "Najibollah will not be there."

The government sources said that in his independence day speech delivered here August 18, the Afghan president had said that Kabul favoured "direct negotiations without any preconditions." Preconditions, he said, would postpone the talks.

Diplomatic sources here said the Khan statement appeared to be "the other side of the penny."

In his August 18 speech, the president said that "negotiations should commence between the representative of the state of Afghanistan and the said opposition groups in the presence of an impartial and third party delegation."

The government sources also pointed to statements by Najibollah Lafraie, information minister for the government-in-exile in Pakistan, which represents a number of mujahedin factions, saying that individuals in Najibollah's party or regime could play some role in an overall solution.

In the past, the mujahedin have generally ruled out the participation of members of Najibollah's Watan (homeland) party, a direct descendent of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), labelled by the mujahedin as a Soviet creation.

Party Vice President Najmuddin Kawyani told foreign press representatives here Tuesday that the party was "a fact...and will take a vigorous part in (intra-Afghan) peace negotiations."

Kawyani did not mention the Khan statement, but said he hoped that Pakistan would not go counter to the general world trend towards accommodation and would stop supplying weapons to the mujahedin.

He was referring to Friday's statement by Washington and Moscow that they had agreed on "negative symmetry"—a mutual cutdown on weapons supplies to Kabul and the mujahedin by the end of this year. He said the party had welcomed the cutdown, as had the bulk of the Afghan people.

Hekmatyar Rejects Watan Participation in Talks

BK1709154691 Hong Kong AFP in English 1516 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Peshawar, Pakistan, Sept 17 (AFP)—Golbuddin Hekmatyar, a powerful Afghan rebel leader, Tuesday rejected any representation of Kabul's Watan party at U.N.-sponsored talks to end the Afghan civil war.

"Even a single member of Watan is not acceptable," said the chief of the Hezb-e Eslami in a speech which was reported by his AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY (ANA).

Hekmatyar, whose party has stayed away from talks initiated by Pakistan and Iran with the mujahedin, said the U.N. proposals for a political settlement aimed at including the "puppet Kabul regime" in the talks.

"We reject this totally," said Hekmatyar, in the context of a statement by Pakistan Tuesday that Kabul had indicated its willingness to participate in an inter-Afghan meeting that would exclude President Najibollah.

U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar proposed on May 21 a blueprint envisaging a ceasefire, stoppage of arms supplies to the warring sides and an intra-Afghan dialogue to set up a transitional administration in Kabul pending elections.

Most of the mujahedin factions have endorsed the plan but demanded the removal of Najibollah from power to enable negotiations to start.

Further on Reaction to U.S.-USSR Statement

Interim Government Rejection

BK1609105291 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 16 Sep 91 p 10

[Text] Peshawar, Sept 15—Prime Minister of Afghan Interim Government (AIG) Prof. Abdul Rab Rasul Sayyaf has asserted that Afghan Mujahedin are not bound by the "unjust, self-motivated and one-sided" accord reached between the Soviet Union and the United States in respect of resolution of Afghan dispute.

In a sharp reaction, Mr. Sayyaf made it clear that "we are only bound by the national interests of our nation and the fundamental aims of our Jihad" adding that no compromise at the regional or international level can weaken our iron will.

Mr Sayyaf reiterated that from our point of view, if the U.N plan, is carried out according to the wishes of Mr. Perez de Cuellar, Soviet Union and America, would not only fail to solve the problem but it would lead to further violence and bloodshed in war-torn Afghanistan.

He continued that if the communist government in Kabul lay down their arms and surrender to Mujahedin, "then we are ready to create conditions for them to benefit from Islamic mercy and justice even after nearly 12 years of war."

He stated that the UN chief should study all the practical facts before attempting to win undue credit on the Afghan issue. He went on to say that any attempt to impose a coalition government of the heavily armed warring sides, will cause further death and destruction in Afghanistan.

Mojahedin Leaders Doubtful

BK1609122891 Lahore THE NATION in English
16 Sep 91 p 1

[Text] Peshawar—A large number of the Mojahedin leaders have expressed doubts over the accord on negative symmetry between the two superpowers and have considered it a plot to deceive Mojahedin and to further isolate them internationally, reports AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY.

Maulvi Muhammad Yunis Khalis, the Chief of his own faction of Hezb-e Eslami, in an interview here on Saturday, [14 September] said that after the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has been making all-out efforts to increase the credence of the puppet regime of Kabul. This is due to this policy of Moscow that the puppet regime has sometimes been appealing for ceasefire and sometimes for national reconciliation or negotiations etc., to boost its image up.

The ex-Deputy Chief of NIFA [National Islamic Front of Afghanistan] and former Education Minister of the AIG [Afghan Interim Government] Dr. Farooq Azam, in his interview with AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY, termed the agreement as a positive step forward. He said that the moment the arms supplies are stopped the Kabul regime will collapse down. He said that Mojahedin enjoyed the support of the majority of the Afghan people, while the puppet regime was relying on mercenaries who fought against Mojahedin by dint of massive Russian supplies.

He said that stoppage of military aid to the parties will not put an end to the war in Afghanistan and Mojahedin are determined to continue Jihad till the removal of the puppet regime and the establishment of an Islamic government in Afghanistan.

Dr Farooq Azam predicted an early fall of the puppet regime. The chief of Jamiat-e-Eslami-Afghanistan, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, in his reaction said the agreement on negative symmetry between the two superpowers was not a surprising one. He said that the military aid to Mojahedin was stopped immediately after the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan while the puppet regime was being supplied by Moscow up to its teeth and nail. He considered the agreement a step in positive direction.

Prof Rabbani expressed doubts that Moscow would sincerely honour the agreement and feared that the regime will be supplied military under different pretexts. He feared massive arms induction to Kabul till January next. He believed that if the Soviets implemented this

agreement in true sense and spirit the collapse of the Communist regime will come very close.

Resistance Manufactures Own Arms

BK1509105491 Hong Kong AFP in English 1022 GMT
15 Sep 91

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 15 (AFP)—Afghan resistance groups, aware that a freeze on foreign arms supply could be introduced, had started manufacturing light weapons long before Friday's accord between the United States and the Soviet Union on halting shipments, guerrilla sources said Sunday.

Besides producing their own arms they have achieved near self-sufficiency in repairing heavy artillery and are also no longer dependent on the supply of spare parts, the sources added.

In preparation for an aid cut, some guerrilla groups had attempted years ago to become self-sufficient in munitions, they said.

The United States and the Soviet Union decided to halt arms deliveries to the warring sides by the end of the year in order to promote a peaceful settlement of the 13-year old civil war in Afghanistan.

Several resistance factions have their own workshops where tanks and artillery pieces, captured from the Kabul government forces or received from donor countries, can be repaired, the sources said.

One such workshop in the eastern Afghan province of Ningarhar is being run by the Hezb-i-Islami faction of Yunus Kales where tanks and armoured personnel carriers (APCs) are repaired, faction sources said.

Another Hezb-i-Islami faction, led by fundamentalist leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, is also seeking self-sufficiency in arms. Reports said the party has acquired the expertise to manufacture its own version of the Chinese-made BM-1 missile.

The party, reportedly helped by Arab experts, is also said to have designed pistols based on Chinese and American models as well as automatic rifles patterned on Soviet Kalashnikovs, much in demand among Afghan guerrilla groups.

It was not known in what quantities the party's ordnance factories were capable of manufacturing the weapons.

The northwestern tribal belt between Pakistan and Afghanistan is known to host a chain of workshops where tribesmen make small arms such as machineguns, rifles and pistols besides some heavy weapons.

In the past 13 years the mojahedin resistance has received millions of dollars worth of arms, including the shoulder-carried U.S. Stinger missile, Egyptian Sacker rockets and Chinese cannons.

Khaliqyar Welcomes Arms Stop

LD1709102391 Kabul BAKHTAR in English
0505 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Kabul, Sept 16, BAKHTAR—Fazl Haq Khaliqyar, prime minister of the country, received Aleksandr Shkirando, correspondent of the [word indistinct] radio-TV for an interview on Sunday, the Prime Ministry press office reported to BAKHTAR.

Khaliqyar while welcoming the Soviet Union and United States joint statement on the stoppage of arms delivery to the warring sides expressed support of the people and Government of the RA [Republic of Afghanistan] of the said statement, its positive effects parallel to the peaceful attempts of the RA as well as good offices of the UN [United Nations] of the Afghan question.

Khaliqyar responded to the questions raised by the Soviet journalist too.

India

Boundaries of 'Disturbed Area' in Assam Reported

BK1709161091 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1530 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] A 20 km-wide belt in Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalay, and Nagaland along the border with Assam has been declared as disturbed area. A Home Ministry notification issued this evening in New Delhi said two districts of Arunachal Pradesh—(Cheerap) and Changlang—and the Mon District of Nagaland have also been declared as disturbed areas. The step has been taken to facilitate Army operations launched in Assam against the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] militants.

Meanwhile, the Army has nabbed six hardcore ULFA militants during the past 24 hours in Jorhat and Nowgong Districts. According to an official press release in Guwahati, the security forces have not encountered any armed resistance from ULFA. In all sectors, the ULFA cadres appear to be on the run, it added.

Curfew Imposed in Nagaland Capital

BK1709150691 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1430 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] The Nagaland capital, Kohima, will come under night curfew from tonight in view of the deteriorating law and order situation. The curfew will remain in force from 2000 [1430 GMT] to 0500 till Saturday [21 September]. The official order issued this evening says the assembly of five or more persons during the day time has also been banned.

Rajya Sabha Passes Bill Canceling Punjab Poll

BK1709130691 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 1230 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] A fresh date for holding elections in Punjab is to be announced tomorrow. This was stated by the home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, in the Rajya Sabha today just before the house adopted a bill which seeks to cancel notifications calling for general elections in Punjab. The bill has now received parliament's approval as the Lok Sabha had passed it yesterday.

Earlier, members of most opposition parties walked out in protest against the government's refusal to announce a firm date for the Punjab elections.

Replying to the debate, the law and justice minister, Mr. K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, said government wants to hold elections in the state at the earliest and will take all political parties into confidence before deciding the issue. He said the situation in Punjab is still not conducive for holding a free and fair poll.

Taking part in the discussion, several opposition members asked the government to evolve a comprehensive policy on Punjab in consultation with all political parties. Members in general urged the government to take a firm stand against Pakistan for its support to the militants in Punjab and Kashmir. The Rajya Sabha also returned the Punjab budget for 1991-92 and the relevant Appropriation Bill as passed by the Lok Sabha.

Poll 'Around February Next Year'

BK1809102291 Delhi All India Radio Network
in English 0930 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Elections in Punjab will be held sometime around February next year. This was announced by the minister of state for home, Mr. M.M. Jacob, while replying to the debate on a statutory resolution for extending president's rule in Punjab for another six months from the 11th of November. He said the conditions in Punjab will have to be normalized before holding the elections. He said the government will consult all political parties to draw up measures for bringing normalcy in Punjab.

Pakistan Warned Against Interference in Kashmir

BK1709124291 Delhi All India Radio General
Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Commentary by journalist Kuldip Singh Arora: "Changing Scenario in Kashmir"]

[Text] The anti-India hysteria created by Pakistan and Pakistani-backed militant organizations in Kashmir is unveiling itself. The Kashmiri youths, who were misled by Pakistani propaganda, have started realizing the futility of their so-called holy war against the Indian union. The cry of over 126 Kashmiri militants for repentance and clamor for getting into the mainstream of life is an evidence enough that the Kashmiri youth are getting disillusioned with the Pakistani propaganda. The

misguided youth of Kashmir have said that Pakistan as well as the top militant leaders have exploited them in the name of jihad and have taken the valley and the people on the path of destruction. They feel sorry for their armed struggle which they led against the innocent people of their own country.

These militants belonging to various outfits like the Hizbul Mujahidin, People's League, Al-Umar Hizbullah, and Muslim Janbaz Force have implored President R. Venkataraman to intervene and resolve the interference to arrest further spilling of blood in the state. Pakistani propaganda is receding. Over 3,000 Muslim youth held a rally last week in Kashmir valley against militants, who were killing innocent people in the state, resulting in hardships for the residents of the area. They shouted slogans, demanding immediate end of extortion, blackmail, coercion, rape, and killing of innocent people by extremists and Pakistani forces who have infiltrated into the valley.

All the developments are apparently symptomatic of growing anger in the Kashmir valley over lawless acts of elements masquerading as freedom fighters. Another 2,000 families in the valley whose sons were misled under duress to go to Pakistan for training in sabotage are making enquiries from extremist organizations as well as authorities about the whereabouts of their wards. These families are fully convinced that the so-called war of azadi [independence] was misnomer.

In fact, people living in the valley have never sought separation from the Indian union. If they were wanting a separate state of Kashmir, there would have been agitation in the Pak-occupied Kashmir as well as an area under illegal occupation of China which was gifted to China by Pakistan.

Press in Bangladesh has endorsed India's stand and have written that Pakistan's cry of violation of human rights in Kashmir is a big hoax. About 5 lakh Biharis are still in Bangladesh awaiting migration to Pakistan. The genocide in Bangladesh in 1971 by the Pakistani forces is distorted record of Pakistan's own violation and the plight of Ahmedias do speak loudly the kind of ruthless exploitation being meted out to the people in Pakistan. [sentence as heard]

The situation in Pak-occupied Kashmir is no better. Till [word indistinct], because of anti-India hysteria, the inhabitants of the valley were given the impression that the secession of Kashmir was near. The spate of killings occurred and it looked as if the situation was getting out of hand. Not only did the local administration stand firm but the entire nation made it known that no power on earth, much less Pakistan, could sever the valley from India. This determination was unmistakably demonstrated in the deliberations on the floor of Parliament where all political parties in one voice demanded that insurgency should be put down with iron hands. Some MPs even suggested that Indian Army should move in to eliminate on the Israeli pattern the training camps of insurgency located in Pak-occupied Kashmir.

The Inter Services Intelligence of Pakistan, which has been waging a proxy war against India, is however still calling the shots. The pressure on insurgents to continue the insurgency is very heavy. Pakistani press as well as Pakistani leadership is trying to raise the issue on all international forums by misrepresenting the facts to seek world opinion in their favor—sometime in the name of Islam and other in the name of humanity. But the kind of support the British, U.S.A., and other countries have given to India, suggesting Pakistan to sort out its problems, if any, with India bilaterally under the Simla agreement, is proof enough that Pakistani anti-India card is yielding no more results. It is still not late for Pakistan to realize that the tension in the region will harm Pakistan much more than it will to India. God forbid, if there is a war between the two countries, the people of Pakistan will suffer and will pay a very heavy price for the foolish policies that their leadership has been following for over a decade against India.

Opposition Leader—Nuclear Plants Dumping Waste

BK1709125191 Hong Kong AFP in English 0821 GMT 17 Aug 91

[By Pratap Chakravarty]

[Text] New Delhi, Sept 17 (AFP)—A senior opposition leader warned Tuesday that several Indian nuclear power plants were dumping radioactive waste into rivers and coastal waters near populated areas of the country's north, west, and south.

Janata Dal (People's Party) leader George Fernandes, 61, said poor safety standards in India's nuclear installations could trigger "disaster" and warned he would launch a crusade to focus attention on the threat.

Fernandes, who has held ministerial posts twice, said the latest threat was from the Rajasthan Atomic Power Plant which was discharging irradiated water into a local river.

He said villages near the plant were reporting a sharp increase in deformities in newborn babies and that men were becoming impotent after drinking water from the river.

"Must we produce hundreds of deformed babies? Midwives have given evidence on film that the number of such cases has doubled since this power station came up a decade ago," Fernandes said in an interview with AFP.

His allegations that the plant was pumping reactor cooling water downstream towards the city of Kota came a day after the issue caused uproar in parliament where several MPs levelled similar charges.

"The plant had broken down 250 times in 10 years, so it is a powder keg situation... it can lead to another Chernobyl," Fernandes said. He said he would launch a "crusade" against the environmental threat.

Babu Dayal Joshi, an MP representing Kota, told parliament Monday that he too had been trying to draw New

Delhi's attention to the growing radiation threat in his home constituency in Rajasthan.

"The kind of things happening there are terrible," newspapers quoted Joshi as saying. The desert province is administered by his Bharatiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party), the largest opposition party in parliament.

Meanwhile, a German environmental group was asking students here to volunteer to conduct a survey of residents near the plant. Delhi University students said they were approached by an unnamed anti-nuclear group to talk to those reportedly affected by radiation.

The allegations were first revealed earlier this month by Observer, a private video unit, which produced a film on the subject. Fernandes said the government was trying to hush up its "latest nuclear scandal."

A spokesman from Department of Atomic Energy Tuesday said: "The matter has been brought to our notice and a denial has already been issued."

Department Secretary P.K. Iyengar, denying that the plant was using the river to dump radioactive waste, had recently said in Bombay that anti-nuclear activists were trying to whip up "some sort of a phobia."

"The nuclear issue is the holiest cow the Indian establishment has developed," Fernandes said. "The government has vested interests, and in the name of nuclear energy and weaponry it has put the lid on. There is no transparency of information."

"My opposition to these nuclear power stations is a long-time campaign. I have also opposed India going in for nuclear weaponry," he said.

He added that the country's first atomic power plant in Tarapur was also posing a grave health hazard in western India.

"Sea water has been contaminated. Fishing has come to a standstill and fishermen are in deep distress," Fernandes said of the Tarapur plant, set up in 1969 with United States collaboration.

The veteran opposition leader said people have been protesting against similar hazards in populated areas near atomic stations in Kayamkulam in the southern state of Tamil Nadu and in Kaiga, a heavy water reprocessing unit in adjoining Karnataka province.

"It is a good thing that evidence (in Kota) has been filmed... so far we were protesting locally and now this agitation will acquire a new dimension... it has to turn into a crusade," Fernandes said.

India has seven nuclear power plants generating 1,465 megawatts daily, with seven more under construction with a capacity of 1,645 megawatts.

Plan To Use Thorium in Nuclear Reactors Proceeds

BK1709135991 Delhi PATRIOT in English
5 Sep 91 p 2

[Text] The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) has announced plans to start large-scale work on the third phase of the atomic energy programme where thorium instead of uranium will be used to fuel the reactors, report PTI.

As part of the scheme as much as 600 kg of thorium will be loaded into the core of the second unit of Narora Atomic Station which is expected to go critical soon.

This is the first large-scale introduction of thorium into power reactors.

Addition of thorium would "become a regular feature in future reactors, every reactor being initiated with a few hundred kilograms of thorium", BARC said.

BARC is also working on a scheme to introduce thorium along with uranium-plutonium mixed oxide into one of the operating pressured heavy water reactors (PHWR).

"Although the date is not yet certain this might come through in a year or two", BARC said.

According to BARC, these are the two immediate proposals for thorium utilisation without affecting the ongoing power programme.

BARC is speeding up work on thorium because the energy potential of thorium in thermal reactors "is way above that of natural uranium" presently used to fuel the PHWRs.

India has five times more thorium than uranium, and the energy content in thorium reserves is about 400 times the energy that can be generated from uranium, BARC said.

The first phase (PHWR) of the nuclear programme has reached commercial stage, the second phase of fast breeder reactor has progressed to the design of a prototype, and "we are now proposing to start large-scale work on thorium phase".

Thorium is processed from beach sands of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. Indian thorium is considered to be of high grade.

Thorium by itself is not a nuclear fuel but it turns into uranium-233—an excellent nuclear fuel—when bombarded by neutrons inside a reactor. The U-233 is chemically separated from irradiated thorium.

BARC made a beginning 40 years ago when it introduced thorium rods in the Canadian built Cirus reactor and then chemically processed it to separate U-233.

Subsequently the scale of fabricating thorium rods was increased and tons of thorium were produced. For the first time 50 kg of thorium was introduced in the Madras power reactor in 1985.

The second unit of Narora station is the first power reactor where 600 kg of thorium will be introduced to produce sizable U-233 for the third phase of the atomic programme.

BARC has already designed two small reactors exclusively fuelled by U-233 and extensive studies have been carried out for the preparation of a mixed oxide fuel using thorium and U-233.

"Now we expect to enlarge our scale of operations on thorium since capability on a small scale has already been demonstrated", said Dr. Kamla Balakrishnan of the reactor engineering division at BARC.

She said the long term strategy "is to return to thermal reactors for the third phase since thorium converted into U-233 will help keep the cycle going without sizable inputs of external fissile material".

BARC is considering several ways of using thorium in PHWRs. In one such method, only the first charge of U-233 will be provided externally. Thereafter, the reactor can operate on thorium alone.

In another method, the PHWR will be supported by U-233 fuel produced externally in what is called "fusion breeders". Working on the thorium cycle, a fusion breeder can support 50 or even 100 times its own capacity of installed electrical power, BARC said.

BARC said it is also working on an advanced heavy water reactor which retains the desirable features of PHWR but optimises the system for thorium.

Iran

President Hashemi-Rafsanjani Receives Primakov

LD1809101891 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] President Hashemi-Rafsanjani received the Soviet president's special envoy [Primakov] this morning. The Soviet president's special envoy first submitted a written message from Gorbachev and conveyed his warm greetings to Hashemi-Rafsanjani. He then gave a report on the trend of developments in the USSR in the wake of the collapsed coup d'etat, the enforcement of democracy, and the return of calm and stability to the country.

Pointing to the Soviet Union's economic problems, Primakov said: We hope to overcome these problems through the establishment of a united economic assembly inside the country, and by virtue of the assistance and cooperation of friendly countries.

Addressing our country's president, he said: Especially since Your Excellency's visit to the USSR, which is considered by us as a turning point in the expansion of ties between the two neighboring countries, we consider your country can play an effective role in alleviating the Soviet Union's economic problems.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani, having expressed his gratitude to Gorbachev for his kind message, said: What is certain is that the Islamic Republic of Iran will continue to welcome good and deep relations with its neighbor country, the USSR. We will be sorry to witness the establishment of a situation enabling Western countries to exploit the conditions in your country. Historical experience has proven that these countries will stop at nothing to realize their interests.

Pointing to the agreements reached with the Soviet Union, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani underlined the need for their full implementation and the further enhancement of existing ties. He added: The Islamic Republic of Iran is ready to extend any kind of cooperation to your country to alleviate the existing economic problems.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Karrubi Meet Friday Imams

LD1709114391 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The seventh nationwide gathering of Friday Imams continued its proceedings today in the presence of President Hashemi-Rafsanjani. Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, underlining the need for precise and long-term planning in terms of publicity, remarked: Today, our speeches are not confined to Iran, but are addressed to the entire world; therefore, to achieve further success in this issue any kind of exaggeration should be avoided in our publicity campaigns.

According to our correspondent, the president, pointing out that the Islamic Republic of Iran is under scrutiny as a model of Islamic government, said: Today, it is the duty of all men of knowledge to endeavor to carryout this important mission, since failure in this regard could lead to a great loss. He added: the belief that by erecting a fence we will be able to lead a carefree life, is a fallacy. We are capable of establishing an active presence in today's world by virtue of preserving the revolution's principles and objectives.

Continuing his remarks, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani pointed to the problems caused by the imposed [Iran-Iraq] war. He added: We must draw up plans, with the people's economic problems in mind. We are dutybound to plan the country's economic future, while also dealing with the acute economic needs of today's society. The country's five-year economic plan has been drawn up on the basis of this very policy.

Concluding his remarks, the president—noting the massive publicity task on the shoulders of the Friday Imams—pointed out the need to keep a constant look at the future as a means of maintaining a perpetual and constant school. He said this is only made possible through precise planning.

Mr. Karrubi, the Majlis Speaker, also spoke. Referring to the political and cultural propaganda of the enemies of the Islamic revolution, he said: This revolution succeeded in

spite of all the conspiracies, and it will continue its path. It is the duty of all of us to work for its upkeep. [passage omitted] Concluding his remarks, the Majlis speaker referred to the issue of Palestine. He said: Today, only Islamic Iran, which has stood firm in the face of plots hatched by Global Arrogance and Zionism—is defending the aspirations of the Palestinian nation.

At the end of today's nationwide gathering of Friday Imams, a roundtable meeting was held in the presence of Mr. Sarmadi, the communications undersecretary and Foreign Ministry spokesman, and Mr. Larijani, the Foreign Ministry advisor. The Islamic Republic of Iran's relations with Western countries, as well as other important world events, were reviewed.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Addresses IRGC Commanders

LD1609122891 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Excerpts] This morning President Hashemi-Rafsanjani addressed a gathering of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps [IRGC] commanders and officials. [passage omitted] The president remarked: The conditions in the region and the world have presented us with an appropriate opportunity for appraisals, reviews, and preparations. Fortunately, the hope-inspiring message of the leader [Khamene'i] contained informative points that constitute a good guideline for us.

Pointing out that we have put the war behind us, while our defense is still in progress, Mr. Rafsanjani underlined: The eight-year epic-making defence of the soldiers of Islam, clearly crippled the agents of arrogance, and it indeed constitutes one of the world's wonders of war. [passage omitted].

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: The large-scale presence of the navies of the big powers in the Persian Gulf was no fortuitous act. They knew that the Persian Gulf was our breathing point. Their policy was to leave the Iraqi hands free so that they could harm us, while tying our hands to prevent us from retaliation. The president added: The interesting fact was that notwithstanding all this, they faced contradictions among each other. Even though they had constructed major oil pipelines through [Saudi] Arabia and Turkey, and were utilizing the North Sea to an unlimited degree, they were nevertheless under pressure, in terms of [shortage of] fuel.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani added: They were feeling powerless vis-a-vis a power such as Iran, with its limited existing resources. We were able to confront them by virtue of non-classic operations. He added: The enemies' conspiracies were targeted against Islam, and our glorious revolution carried an exceptionally major defense role. The enemy's intention was to undermine the country's economic structure. Praise be to God, He did not leave this jihad devoid of success.

The president added: With the new arena opened to us by the Imam, we have entered a new stage. Fortunately the objectives of the holy defense have been realized, and even the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member-states, in their statement issued in Riyadh, called for the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

Comparing the present conditions with those prevalent in the last years of the [Iran-Iraq] war, the president said: At present our economy has become buoyant; factories are working and projects are under implementation. We are constructing and reconstructing the country, which is something we could not do in the course of the war. Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani added: In 1988 at the end of the war, 58 percent of our expenditure was covered by loans obtained from domestic sources. The banks were forced to print notes, and as a result of those conditions we could neither raise salaries, nor pursue the [country's] reconstruction. If you add issues such as the earthquake and the refugees, you will become aware of the tragedy that would have occurred had this economic buoyancy not arisen. He said: We must all join hands toward reconstructing the country by ourselves. The president added: We are still facing an economic blockage. America continues to keep our assets frozen, and France has still not paid back our money. The big governments are negotiating about the past contracts and whether or not they should negotiate major projects, and once an agreement is reached, they decline to sign the contract. [passage omitted]

The president described the implementation of 99 projects by the IRGC with a credit amounting to 10 billion tomans, as a major achievement, and said: Just as the Corps played an honorable role during the war, the selfless offspring of the Corps, by their devotion and faith and personality, must in the period of construction, too, carry on the construction work in other dimensions. The president reiterated: The fundamental issue is that of maintaining military capability, an issue on which we lay great stress. [passage omitted] praising Iran's post-war self-sufficiency compared to that of Japan and Germany].

Concluding his remarks, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani stressed the right of the military forces to attain average living standards, and prayed for the success of the IRGC devotees in the country's defense and reconstruction arenas.

IRGC's Reza'i Interviewed on U.S. 'Designs'

LD1709081291 Tehran IRNA in English 1419 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Text] Tehran, Sept. 16, IRNA—A senior Iranian military commander today warned of Washington's attempts to impose its designs on the world, and traced the United States' strategy to stem the tide of the Islamic revolution. In an exclusive interview with IRNA on the eve of Defence Week (Sept. 22-28), Major-General Mohsen Reza'i termed as an "American deceit" the new world order being talked about by the U.S., and said it was a

plot to forestall the natural course of events which started to unfold after the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran (1979).

"The Americans have not only no role in world developments, but in some cases they have tried to prevent them. Perhaps if the U.S. had not isolated the reformists in the Soviet Union, no coup would have taken place in that country," he pointed out. According to Reza'i the Soviet reforms frightened the Americans of losing their hold over Europe and that is why they started colouring recent world developments in "American shades" in order to avoid political problems in future concerning their global stranglehold.

Reza'i who is the commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC) also recalled the almost 8-year old Iraqi imposed war on Iran in this connection. He said the war was imposed on the new-found Islamic republic to hinder the progress of the Islamic revolution, and Iraq's Ba'thist regime well aware of the U.S. opposition to the Islamic revolution, launched a war against Iran with the backing of the superpowers.

"However, the enemies of the Islamic republic failed to achieve their goals, and the resistance of the Muslim Iranian nation broke down the so-called iron bonds between the U.S. and Saddam (Husayn), thereby making the crisis boomerang into the ranks of enemies."

More on the war, Reza'i said Iran's Muslim combatants carried out 188 small and large scale operations during the 2,800-day imposed war, and had the upper hand over the enemy in 790 of the 1,000 days of actual fighting. Iranian forces, he said inflicted some 400,000 casualties on the enemy and took about 70,000 pows. In addition, new brigades were organized out of the booties seized from Iraqi troops, he added.

On the future of Soviet Union, Maj-Gen Reza'i said that contrary to the propaganda of a 'weakened military power', one can discern through a deeper observation that these developments are only "A change in the Soviet military structure, which has nothing to do with the weakening of military power in that country." However, he did not rule out the possibility of a Soviet military threat against the northern borders of Iran.

"If the situation continues to remain as it is, there is probably no threat against Iran, but if a new order emerges in the Soviet Union, it should not be underestimated, and therefore, Iranian armed forces should always be on alert against any dangerous move," warned the IRGC commander.

On relations with Pakistan and the joint campaign against drug smugglers, he said bilateral cooperation allows cross-border chase of the traffickers, but no such case has taken place yet.

Earlier today, Maj-Gen Reza'i opened the fourth nationwide gathering of IRGC commanders in Tehran. He told the gathering that the U.S. was trying to "impose a base

on the region with a strength of 150,000 military personnel." The setting up of this foothold is part of American designs of the so-called security belt plan for the region, he cautioned.

Anti-Iran Demonstration in Pakistan Assailed

LD1709200791 Tehran IRNA in English 1705 GMT
16 Sep 91

[Text] Islamabad, Sept. 16, IRNA—The Iranian Embassy here released a strongly-worded statement Monday, condemning activists of the schismatic Wahhabi sect for their recent provocative moves aimed at tarnishing Tehran-Islamabad ties.

The statement also blasted Wahhabi for their demonstrations last Thursday in Rawalpindi in which they insulted the Islamic Republic and its great founder and set afire the Iranian flag. "The chanting of seditious slogans by Wahhabis is an indication of the deep enmity with Islam of elements behind such violent demonstrations and of their intention to sow discord among the Islamic ummah," it said.

The statement also questioned the timing of the demonstrations at a time when the Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was visiting Iran to consolidate ties between the two countries. Denouncing all violent and terrorist acts, the statement called on the Muslim people of Pakistan to take no notice of such baseless accusation and provocations.

Earlier on Sunday, Iran's temporary charge d'affaires to Pakistan 'Ali Mohaqqueqi met with the Pakistani deputy foreign minister and voiced concern and protest against recent Wwahhabi provocations. He also requested the Ppakistani government to take disciplinary action against elements trying to strain the friendly relations between the two Muslim neighbours.

Paper Assails West's Treatment of Hostage Issue

LD1709090891 Tehran KEYHAN HAVAI in Persian
26 Aug 91 p 8

[Editorial: "Comments by the West on Iranian Hostages Are Intolerable"]

[Text] While it seems that the issue of the hostages in Lebanon is gradually reaching its final stages, the British publication THE OBSERVER on Sunday 18 August 1991 wrote: Four Iranians who were kidnapped from the Iranian embassy in Beirut in 1982 have been killed and buried by pro-Israeli militiamen.

It is worth noting that Seyed Mohsen Musavi, the Iranian charge d'affaires in Lebanon; Ahmad Motevaseliyan, diplomat; Kazem Akhavan, photographer with IRNA; and Taqi Rastegar-Moqaddam, embassy employee, were the first group of hostages, taken in Lebanon some 9 years ago by pro-Israeli groups. Since then efforts by Iranian officials to obtain their release have been futile.

In general, Iran's position with regard to the hostage issue has been based on the principle that it will only be solved if all hostages held by all groups are released en masse. Of course during this process, the four Iranians held by pro-Israeli militiamen have a special standing since they have been held captive longer than anyone else.

The Westerners, with their huge propaganda machine, concentrate only on the Western hostages, thus neglecting the fate of the Iranian, Lebanese, and Palestinian hostages, gradually consigning them to the land of the forgotten. Publishing reports such as this to say that the four have been killed is an effort along the same lines.

On the other hand, the release of some Western hostages in recent months, in exchange for nothing, has created an attitude in the West that these actions were made from a position of weakness and that they do not need to give anything in return. In this connection it is interesting to note the Israelis' hard-line position on the release of hostages that they hold and their insistence on knowing the fate of people that they call prisoners of war.

Under these conditions a more steadfast position must be taken regarding the clarification of the fate of the Iranian hostages in Lebanon. There should be a more serious examination of reports that they have been killed. This duty lies not only with Iranian officials, but must also be shared by the UN secretary general, who in the last few days has been engaged in preparations for the release of hostages in Lebanon.

Unfortunately it must be said that, despite the sensitivity of the issue, there has not been an appropriate response to news of Iranian hostages being killed. It must also be noted that three of the hostages were diplomats in Lebanon, under full diplomatic immunity recognized by international law. To break this law carries big responsibility.

Therefore, if the issue of hostages in Lebanon is to be pursued seriously, the Iranian hostages have priority over the others, some of whom—according to the British MAIL ON SUNDAY newspaper—are known CIA elements, such as Terry Waite and William Buckley. In any case there is a coordinated and major effort to forget the Iranian hostages and to destroy the feelings that exist in this regard. So much so that THE OBSERVER openly quotes Israeli intelligence sources as saying: "These four men, including Mohsen Musavi, the charge d'affaires, were killed by the Lebanese Forces militia and buried along with other prisoners in mass graves." Therefore we must adopt a wise and steadfast position and we must not only prove wrong the impression given to the West following the release of some Western hostages, but we must also safeguard Iran's honor in the world. Just as the West is using its propaganda machinery in its favor, Iran must also follow this issue seriously in the world. By stressing its right and just position, Iran must not allow the West to openly express views on the murder of Iranian hostages.

* 43 Countries To Take Part in Exposition

91AS1434a London KEYHAN in Persian
22 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] Forty-three countries will take part in the 17th International Tehran Exposition, to be held this year from 10 - 20 Mehr [2 - 12 October] at the Tehran International Exposition site. These nations will display their products in a space with an area of 80,000 square meters. Mostafa Hashemi-Taba, chief of the Center for Export Expansion, announced early this week that apart from the United States of America, all the industrialized nations of the world will take part in this year's international exposition. He noted that small countries who do not make competitive products will not take part in this year's trade exposition. The official added: For the first time Germany has taken a booth with an area of 6,000 square meters, and it has also taken on the task of building the hall. During his press conference, the chief of the Center for Export Expansion announced that 30,000 of the 80,000 square meters of space at the 17th International Tehran Exposition are made up of new installations which will be ready for use by the time the exposition starts.

He added: This year on 11 Shahrivar [2 September], the International Non-Petroleum Exports Seminar will be held for three days. Participating will be about 50 to 70 experts on trade and industry from foreign countries.

* Elimination of Subsidies To Continue

91AS1438a London KEYHAN in Persian
29 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] The Islamic Republic plans gradually to eliminate subsidies on several more food items now available to consumers with ration coupons. The elimination of food subsidies is one of the conditions that, if fully implemented, would clear the way for obtaining loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Several weeks ago the Tehran Islamic regime took the first step to eliminate subsidies on foodstuffs by removing the distribution of poultry and eggs from the ration coupon network and putting the marketing of these goods into the hands of the free market.

Reports from Tehran and other municipalities indicate that the regime's economic policy is faced with total bankruptcy.

Officials are still seeking gradually to remove rationed goods and subsidies from the distribution network and put their marketing into the hands of the free market.

* Nowshahr Linked to Baku, Krasnovodsk

91AS1438b London KEYHAN in Persian
29 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] With the purchase of a freighter from Bulgaria, the Islamic Republic Shipping Company has increased its ocean-going freighter fleet in the Caspian Sea to two

vessels. Iranian ships at Bandar Nowshahr on the shores of the Sea of Mazandaran will go to the ports of Baku and Krasnovodsk.

Mohammad Hoseyn Dajmar, chief of the board of directors and executive director of the Islamic Republic Shipping Company, discussed the increased traffic of freight liners between Iranian ports in the Caspian Sea and ports in the Soviet Union. He said: We have recently obtained permission for Iranian ships to use Soviet sea lanes in the Caspian Sea, and we now have activity by the Iranian merchant ships Iran Bashir and Iran Basir between the ports of Iran and the ports of Baku and Krasnovodsk. He announced that with future purchases of 23 freight and passenger ships, the naval capacity of the Islamic Republic Shipping Company will increase in the future.

The executive director of the Islamic Republic Shipping Company also announced that based on agreements in principle with Soviet shipping officials, Iran intends to carry out naval activities by creating a jointly-owned company with the Soviet Kaspar Shipping Company. This cooperation will facilitate moving and shipping goods from the Black Sea and Northern Europe into the country, and vice-versa.

*** Istanbul Train To Become Operational Again**

91ASI438c London KEYHAN in Persian
5 Sep 91 p 4

[Text] The Tehran-Istanbul passenger train, which for various reasons has not carried passengers to Turkey for some time, will soon go back into operation. News of renewed operations by this train was recently given to the media by Hamid Sadiqpur, general manager of public relations for the Islamic Republic Railroad Company. While listing the Islamic Republic Railroad Company's accomplishments over the last year in a speech for Government Week, he told reporters: "During the Five-year Plan, the Islamic Republic Railroad Company will increase its freight-carrying capacity from 14 million tons to 25 million tons, and its passenger-carrying capacity to 10 million passengers per year, by purchasing and putting into operation 3,860 freight cars, 450 passenger cars and 80 locomotives."

The general manager of public relations for the Islamic Republic Railroad Company listed the renewed operation of the Tehran-Istanbul train, the launching of the 260-kilometer Bafq-Sirjan line, and the implementation of the special express service for passengers as part of the railroad's accomplishments last year, and he added that in the current year it will seek to start the direct Moscow-Tehran passenger line and that the Quetta-Zahedan passenger line and the Tehran-Istanbul passenger line will also go into operation soon.

*** Paper Reports Preelection Factionalism**

91ASI432A London KEYHAN in Persian
15 Aug 91 p 12

[Text]Visible and Invisible

This fourth Majles ...

The quarrels and conflicts over the control of the next Majles (the fourth Majles) are entering a more sensitive phase. The conflicts continue on two levels. First, between the government of Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who tries with the help of 'Ali Khamene'i, the leader of the Islamic Republic, and Mohammad Yazdi, the head of the judicial branch, and the Council of Guardians, to have a Majles which, although not totally obedient to the government, at least cannot be used by the opposing faction. Second, between the Council of Guardians, which in accordance with Article 90 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic has the duty of supervising the elections of the Majles, and the Ministry of Interior, which considers itself responsible for properly conducting the elections. A visible competition or, more or less, battle has started.

The sensitivity of the Council of Guardians in fact does not concern the elections being or not being conducted in accordance with the letter of the Constitution, but it wants to hand pick the representatives for the fourth Majles the same way that it does the representatives of the Assembly of Experts.

The most important plaything of the Council of Guardians in this effort is an article in the election laws that considers those qualified to be representatives of the Majles as requiring "practical commitment to Islam and the regime of the Islamic Republic." The Council of Guardians can hold the same type of doubt about the practical commitment to Islam of some of the election nominees that it has had concerning the religious scholarly standing of some of the nominees for the Assembly of Experts.

For this reason, the present representatives of the Majles have ratified a proposal according to which "belief in Islam" is sufficient for becoming a representative. But this proposal has been returned to the concerned committee, and even if it receives final ratification, it will most likely be blocked by the Council of Guardians. If the conflict between the Majles and the Council of Guardians is not resolved through normal means, the "Council for the Discernment of Expediency" will end up making the final ruling about it. Because the supporters of Hashemi-Rafsanjani-Khamene'i have a majority in that assembly, there is no way for the extremists in the Majles to be able to resolve the conflict over the elections for the fourth Majles to their own advantage.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani has postponed all the reforms he has promised the West and Iranians living abroad to the time after the holding of the Majles elections. Diplomatic circles in Tehran and that group of Iranians residing abroad who are waiting for the result of Rafsanjani's efforts consider the above-mentioned elections in the power fight within the Islamic Republic a "decisive battle."

Nepal & Bhutan

France Cancels \$18 Million in Loan Debt

BK1709040991 Hong Kong AFP in English 1952 GMT
16 Sep 91

[Text] Kathmandu, Sept 16 (AFP)—The French Government has cancelled Nepal's debt of 106 million francs (18.4 million U.S.) in treasury loans, a French official said here Monday.

Dov Zehara, joint secretary of the treasury, made the announcement at an official function at the Ministry of Finance.

Zehara is heading a five-man delegation, which is here to discuss bilateral economic cooperation for 1991 to 1992 prior to a meeting of the Aid Nepal Group in Paris this fall, an official from the ministry said.

The Nepalese Government welcomed the French Government's decision to relieve so-called "least developed countries" from the burden of loans.

The two countries have been holding talks on bilateral economic cooperation, during which they have reviewed on-going projects and agreed on the allocation resources for new ones.

The two countries Monday signed a new 53 million franc (9.2 million U.S.) agreement, an official source said.

The French delegation left here for Paris on Monday evening.

Pakistan

Politician Urges Immediate Afghanistan Cease-Fire

BK1709132291 Hong Kong AFP in English 1231 GMT
17 Sep 91

[Text] Karachi, Sept 17 (AFP)—Khan Abdul Wali Khan, a prominent Pakistani politician and critic of the Afghan mujahedin, called for an immediate ceasefire in Afghanistan in remarks published here Tuesday.

Local newspaper THE DAWN quoted him as saying that a halt to the fighting would pave the way for negotiations to resolve the 13-year-old conflict.

In an interview with THE INDEPENDENT English language daily in London, where he is currently on a visit, Khan welcomed last week's agreement between Moscow and Washington to cut off arms deliveries to warring Afghans by the year end.

Khan, leader of the Awami National Party (ANP), a coalition partner in Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government, urged Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to "also cut off their aid to the mujahedin."

"Without the dollars and rials no one will be willing to fight," said the leader of the ANP which commands substantial support in the North West Frontier Province bordering Afghanistan.

Khan suspected that "some of the elements in Pakistan may still try for a final solution through the use of arms," but said he did not believe that Afghan President Najibullah would be toppled once the Soviet aid was stopped.

He feared that the three million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan would pose a problem for a "very long time" for they were "fully armed and might not easily leave even if a solution to the Afghan problem was found."

Afghan Refugee Issue Discussed With UNHCR

Sharif Urges Continued Aid

BK1709123691 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network
in English 1100 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] A message of the prime minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, has been conveyed to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] in Geneva dealing with the program of the commission for providing humanitarian assistance to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. The message was delivered by the secretary of state and frontier regions, Mr. Zuljan Khan, at a meeting with the UNHCR, Ms. Sadako Ogata, in Geneva [words indistinct] to discuss various aspects of the program for relief assistance to the Afghan refugees. It was underlined at the meeting that the assistance should continue till the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland.

Minister Meets Deputy Commissioner

BK1809052091 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network
in Urdu 0200 GMT 18 Sep 91

[Text] Sardar Yaqub Khan Nasir, State and Frontier Region Federal Minister, and Douglas Stafford, UN deputy high commissioner for refugees, met in Islamabad yesterday and exchanged views on matters related to Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. The deputy high commissioner was told that Pakistan wants an immediate solution to the Afghan problem so that the refugees will be able to return to their homeland with respect. He underlined that assistance should continue till the refugees return voluntarily to their homeland. Douglas Stafford lauded Pakistan for taking care of such a large number of refugees despite its economic constraints.

Commentary Hails Ishaq Khan's Iran Visit

BK1709095091 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network
in English 1600 GMT 16 Sep 91

[Mohammad Yamin commentary]

[Text] While the neighboring Islamic states of Iran and Pakistan have always enjoyed the best of fraternal relations and have been collaborating with each other in every possible sphere, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's

recent state visit to Iran may be amply described as a (?best of) landmark in the course of Iran-Pakistan collaboration. Besides, the general goodwill that the visit generated, the great warmth with which the president of Pakistan and his entourage was received by their Iranian hosts and the utmost sincerity of purpose with which both decided to deliberate on matters of mutual concern and interest, a number of concrete agreements have also been arrived at regarding specific spheres which when implemented will be of a great benefit to both the countries. The joint communique issued simultaneously in Tehran and Islamabad at the end of visit not only demanded speedy and just solutions to the Afghan and Kashmir problems, it also welcomed the wide-ranging memorandum of understanding signed by the technical members of the respective delegations.

Afghanistan being a major issue of foreign policy concern to both Iran and Pakistan as the two countries have suffered together previously from the fallout of the 13-year-old Afghan conflict and continue to share the economic and social burden emanating from the migration of millions of Afghan refugees to Iran and Pakistan, both of them are, therefore, keen on an early and durable settlement of the problem. In the recent past, they had both jointly held satisfactory talks with the leaders of Afghan mojahedin groups which was certainly a factor in providing the necessary impetus for the U.S.-Soviet Union decision to cut off arms supplies to their respective Afghan allies. Their continued collaboration in this field and (?other sensitive) matters can bring a lasting peace in Afghanistan in accordance with the wishes of the Afghan people.

On Kashmir, Iran has already extended unqualified support to Pakistan's principled stand. In solidarity with their Muslim brethren of Kashmir, Iran has repeatedly called for the grant of right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. They have also time and again condemned the atrocities of the Indian occupation forces in the held area. The call made in the joint communique in regard to Kashmir is, therefore, in total accordance with the consistent policy of Iran and serves to reassure their brethren in Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir.

The memorandum of understanding concluded between the two countries deals with economic matters and seeks to consolidate multifaceted collaboration in the vital sectors of railways and construction, communications, (?postal) cooperation as well as oil and gas. While other specific details will be made public in the due course of time, it is already known that Pakistan will provide necessary assistance in extending up to Kerman the railway track linking Pakistan with the Iranian city of Zahedan, and Iran would help Pakistan in the installation of an oil refinery. Also, both the countries have agreed to carry out joint oil exploration in the adjacent areas of their respective countries. Further depth and substance is also sought to be provided to economic collaboration between Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan within the framework of the Economic Cooperation Organization—ECO. In this context, certain points raised by the

Pakistan leader in his address to the Iranian parliament for the economic integration of the Islamic ummah [community] deserve a special mention. His call for the creation of an Islamic common market and an Islamic reserve bank needs to be responded by the Islamic nations in real earnest for the common goal of progress and prosperity of the Islamic world.

President Cited on Common Market Talks With Iran

LD1609010891 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1430 GMT 15 Sep 91

[Text] The president of Pakistan supported the Islamic Republic of Iran's proposal regarding the establishment of an Islamic common market, terming it as a significant step toward the resolution of the economic problems of Muslim nations. Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the president of Pakistan, in an exclusive interview with a Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic of Iran correspondent, today, pointed to the forthcoming ECO summit session in Tehran, and recounted the economic activities of that organization in the past. Continuing the interview, he underlined the objectives of the said organization in terms of enhancing the economic cooperation between the three countries of Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. He said: In my talks with Iranian officials, the future of ECO was reviewed. Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan added: There is hope that by virtue of talks between the Islamic countries' chamber of commerce officials, we will try to establish an Islamic common market. He said: This very friendship between the two countries of Iran and Pakistan can be a prelude to the establishment of such a common market. Turkey and other Islamic countries can also help by joining us so that we may gradually pave the way toward extending and implementing the said plan.

Leaders Discuss Kashmir With UK Parliamentarian

BK1209164991 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1600 GMT 12 Sep 91

[Text] A conservative member of British Parliament, Sir (John Willis), called on the prime minister in Rawalpindi today. He delivered a letter to Mr. Nawaz Sharif from the British prime minister in which Mr. John Major expressed his keen desire to meet the Pakistan prime minister during the conference of the Commonwealth heads of government at Harare next month. The prime minister appreciated Sir (John Willis') support on Kashmir and his efforts for promotion of Pakistan-UK relations. Sir (John Willis) said he will redouble his government's efforts for promoting a peaceful and political settlement of Kashmir where civil rights are being grossly violated. He will also strive to strengthen UK-Pakistan relations.

Sir (John Willis) also had a meeting with the speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Gauhar Ayub Khan, in Islamabad today. He said he was making earnest efforts for bringing about a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute and other related issues hampering

good relations between Pakistan and India. He was informed by the speaker that the struggle waged by the people of Kashmir for their right to self-determination was totally indigenous, and Indian accusations of Pakistan's interference were baseless.

Editorial Comments on Nuclear Issue, U.S Policy

BK1109154591 Lahore *THE NATION*
(Islamabad *THE NATION* Supplement) in English
10 Sep 91 p 4

[Editorial: "US and nuclear issue"]

[Text] After the fairly detailed statement of Mr Robert Oakley, till recently the US Ambassador to Pakistan, on US suspension of aid to Pakistan and the US perception of Pakistan's nuclear programme, the remarks of a relatively junior diplomat from the same Embassy should not have caused any surprise. Actually, Mr William Lederking, an Information Attache was revealing no secrets which he said that the US supported Israel's nuclear arms, did not approve of India's bomb but accepted India as a nuclear state and would do everything to prevent Pakistan from becoming one. The statement is nevertheless interesting in demonstrating the rather twisted logic that the Americans choose to apply to an essentially moral issue. The issue being non-proliferation of nuclear arms among the Third World countries. We need not go into the lack of logic in the US dividing the world into nuclear powers and non-nuclear powers, accepting the one as rightfully entitled to that status and rejecting the other as unworthy of it. But the complete irrationality of condoning or even justifying nuclear arms for some countries of the Third World and denying them to others, is bewildering. The argument that a country surrounded by enemies, should be allowed to acquire nuclear arms, for example, can be questioned on the ground that there are no permanent enemies or friends in international relations. Does it mean that Israel will be deprived of such weapons if the proposed Middle East Peace Conference is ever held and succeeds? Or looking at the issue from the other side: would Pakistan be entitled to have nuclear arms, if at a certain stage, it was surrounded by enemies on all sides? Or, taking the same argument further, would Pakistan be justified in acquiring nuclear arms, if a big hostile neighbour already has nuclear arms?

Now let us look at the moral underpinnings of the non-proliferation treaty. The US was the first country in the world to build nuclear arms and the first one to use them in World War II. It continued to build and stockpile them even when its enemies had been defeated. The reason then was that an ally-the Soviet Union-had become an enemy. But now that the US has no enemy among the big powers, why does it want to keep all those stockpiles? The logic offered for that is that dangerous weapons are not dangerous in the hands of the big powers, they are dangerous only in the hands of the Muslim countries. The argument used to condone the Indian bomb is that penalising India will not cure the

situation. If that be so, then how would penalising Pakistan cure the situation, if Pakistan has the bombs, as the US insists that it has will soon have? [as published] The only way to cure it would be for the US to use its influence to make India sign the NPT along with Pakistan, as Pakistan has often proposed.

Regional Approach to Nonproliferation Stressed

BK1709160191 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network
in Urdu 1500 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Pakistan made a strong plea for pursuing a regional approach to effectively deal with the issue of nuclear proliferation, and with this end in view, it has been consistently advocating creation of a nuclear weapon-free zone in South Asia for the last 19 years. This was stated by the leader of the Pakistani delegation and chairman of the Pakistan Nuclear Energy Commission, Dr. Ashfaq Ahmed, while addressing the annual general conference of International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. He said Pakistan had in the past made several proposals for a fair, equitable, and nondiscriminatory proliferation regime. Even this year, it proposed that the United States, the Soviet Union, and China should hold mutual consultations on the resolution of the nuclear weapons issue and hold talks with Pakistan and India.

On Pakistan's nuclear program, the chairman reaffirmed that it is completely peaceful in nature and is aimed at the country's socioeconomic development. Pakistan needs substantial energy to maintain a reasonable pace of its socioeconomic progress, and therefore, it has to increase its energy production. He called upon the industrially developed countries to realize that refusal to transfer nuclear technology for peaceful purposes on the pretext of nuclear nonproliferation policy will badly affect the economic progress of developing countries. He urged the developed countries to pay appropriate attention to the energy needs of developing nations and to meet their energy needs by wider cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Asif Ali Zardari Acquitted in Hotel Loan Case

BK1109160991 Islamabad *THE MUSLIM*
in English 10 Sep 91 p 4

[Text] Karachi, Sep 9—A division bench of the Sindh High Court comprising Justice Mamoon Kazi and Justice Qaiser Ahmed Hamidi on Monday granted an application moved on behalf of Asif Ali Zardari PDA MNA, and ordered quashment of the proceedings against him in English Fine Hotel back loan case pending in the special court for offences against banks (Sindh/Balochistan).

Talib Rizvi and Raja Qureshi, advocates appeared on behalf of applicant Asif Ali Zardari, Deputy Attorney General Nizam Ahmed for the federal government,

Advocate General, Sindh, Aftab Akhund for the provincial government while VIA was represented by special public prosecutor Usman Ghani Rashid.

The court after bearing all these law officers, agreed with the contentions submitted by Talib Rizvi and Raja Qureshi on behalf of the petitioner and quashed the proceedings against him in English Fine Hotel for the reasons to be recorded later on. By virtue of this judgement of honourable High Court Asif Zardari has been acquitted from all the charges levelled against him in this case.

Sri Lanka

Impeachment Moves Against Premadasa Criticized

BK1709144591 Colombo DAILY NEWS
in English 6 Sep 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Who fears the people?"]

[Text] One clear factor emerges from the mass of words spoken and printed about what President Ranasinghe Premadasa and his supporters have clearly branded a conspiracy and what Mr. Athulathmudali, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake et al prefer to regard as a constitutional crisis. That is simply this: Those who are opposed to the President are afraid to go to the people.

The whole strategy adopted by those pushing the impeachment resolution is to tie the President's hands as far as a dissolution is concerned. Despite all their professions about the exercise being intended to be a move back to the Westminster system from an executive presidency, they do not want a people's verdict.

They have used the provisions of the prevailing 1978 Constitution to good advantage to present a motion signed not by the two-thirds majority necessary to impeach the President, but by more than half the total number of MPs. Speaker M.H. Mohamed's letter to President Premadasa, informing him that the motion had been entertained, precludes the President from dissolving Parliament—something he could lawfully do in other circumstances.

The various statements made by the different parties to the controversy have made clear that many of the UNP [United National Party] dissidents who had been persuaded to sign the resolution have done so to prevent a dissolution of Parliament. Why does an MP [member of Parliament] fear a dissolution?

He either does not wish to face his electors as he must from time to time in a democracy, or he fears that his party may not nominate him to run at the general election which would follow any dissolution. In the first case, the MP would have assessed that he would lose the

support of the voters who sent him to Parliament; in the second case, his judgement would be that he lacks the confidence of his party.

Members of parliament, like all other human beings, would not lightly give up the perks and privileges that are theirs by virtue of their membership of the legislature. The politically sagacious Lankan voter is only too well aware that the majority of the MPs, whether they belong to the Government or to the Opposition, would not happily choose to go to the country to get the verdict of the people who are their masters on the impeachment issue.

Principles such as those demonstrated by Mr. Gamani Jayasuriya who objected to the Indo-Lanka Accord between President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi and therefore resigned both his portfolio and his seat are, unfortunately, uncommon in our country. They have certainly not been visible as far as the leaders of the UNP dissidents are concerned.

In his speech to the government parliamentary group, the last installment of which appeared in our late city edition yesterday, we published President Premadasa's remark that if a referendum is called on the presidential system, he would support that 100 percent. What is more significant is what he said next. If there were going to be a referendum "it is better to find out whether Premadasa is fit to be retained as suitable for the next four years also."

He is not asking that his term be extended for four years. The mandate given to him by the people who elected him has four more years to run. What he is saying is to ask the country: "Do you want Premadasa to continue as Executive President for the balance four years of his term?"

The chances are that those who fear a dissolution of Parliament will not favour such a referendum. The gut issue they have created by submitting the impeachment resolution to the Speaker is not whether the country is for an executive presidency or for a Westminster-system of government. It is whether R. Premadasa is fit to be the Executive President of this country.

We cannot forget that the British system that they now say they favour—the dissidents saw no flaw in the 10-year long J.R. Jayewardene presidency—made it possible for the Conservative Party to throw out Margaret Thatcher whom the people of Britain had elected as their prime minister.

The people of Sri Lanka do not want the man they elected as their Executive President toppled by conspiracies or manoeuvres. The tragedy of the present situation is that those behind that effort do not even seem to want a quick parliamentary test of strength. They want to keep the motion pending as long as possible to prevent a dissolution of Parliament and, at the same time, have a Sword of Damocles dangling over the neck of the country's Head of State and Head of Government who has many urgent tasks and duties to perform.